I

HŪD AND OTHER PRE-ISLAMIC PROPHETS OF ḤAḌRAMAWT

Hūd, the Prophet of God, is reckoned in Ḥaḍramawt only second to Muḥammad himself, and his shrine is one of the most famous in Arabia, yet because of the relative isolation of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, thought not the coasts, from the rest of the Islamic world, there is little certain knowledge about the sanctuary in classical Arabic texts. The tomb is not far distant from the cavern known as Bīr Barhūt, explored by Van der Meulen and Von Wissmann about twenty years ago, and thereby robbed of its mystery if not of its interest. In Ḥaḍramawt itself little seems to be known of Hūd and his shrine, and though for mere lack of time I was unable to consult the wealth of local MSS. on religious subjects, I think that, to judge by the poverty of reliable data in al-Nūr al-Sāfir[1] and contemporary Ḥaḍrami writers, no historical information of any great value concerning the shrine will come to light there, especially for the first six or seven centuries of Islam. On the other hand we can at least hope that inscriptions may be discovered that will allow of a historical reconstruction of the Hūd cult before Islam[2].

A savant discussion of textual references in classical Arabic has been made by Landberg[3] which will not be repeated here; having been over the terrain I am convinced that these texts have a kernel of truth.

[1] Ibn al-ʿAidarūs, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir* (Baghdad, 1934), p. 67. See also a brief reference in Nabhānī Djāmiʿ Karāmāt al-Awliyāʾ (Cairo, 1911), I, 320.

[2] See G. Ryckmans, *Le Panthéon sud-sémitique, Le Muséon* (Louvain, 1931), XLIV, p. 208 citing Ibn Ḳutaibah, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1850), p. 15 where Hūd is said to have died in Mecca. On the Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ to Taimah route, Jaussen and Savignac (*Mission Archéologique*, Paris, 1909 14, II, 348) give a brief graffito, reading, « By Hūd. Allahi. »

[3] *Ḥaḍramoût* (Leiden, 1901), pp. 152-60.

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Of Hūd himself, little is related. His genealogy is known to the classical texts [4]; it includes Iram, and I should mention that my informant 'Abdullāh b. Raḥaiyam said that the Shi'b Hūd [5], Bīr Barhūt, and the territory surrounding these places is called Iram Dhāt al-'Imād, though I imagine this popular legend is post-Islamic. Certain significant facts emerge from the classical corpus of legend. Hūd spoke Arabic; Suyūṭī [6] says that he was the first who spoke Arabic. According to Nashwān b. Sa'īd, the son of an Anṣārī claimed that both Ṣāliḥ and Hūd were South Arabian prophets [7]. This may perhaps be interpreted to show that just before Islam at least, they were associated with the Arab tribes of Ḥaḍramawt, in distinction perhaps from the « Ḥimyarite » speaking peoples to the West, and the Mahrah to the East.

Hūd was also closely associated with Shiḥr for Ka'b al-Aḥbār [8] says that, after the perishing of 'Ād, Hūd went with those who believed, to Shiḥr in Ḥaḍramawt, and remained there two years (ḥawlain [9]). All sources are agreed that he was buried in Mahrah

[4] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1940-2), III, p. 368; Ibn Hishām, *K. al-Tīdjān* (Cairo, 1347 H.), p. 325, etc.; 'Azīmu'ddīn Ahmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-Ulūm* (Leiden-London, 1916), p. 111; K. W. Zetterstéen, *Ṭurfat al-Aṣḥāb fī Ma'rifat al-Ansāb* of 'Umar b. Yūsuf b. Rasūl (Damascus, 1949), p. 18 etc.

[5] Shi'b, he said, means a djabal or ṭawd.

[6] Quoted in *al-Fawā'id-al-Sanīyah*, citing Suyūṭī's *al-Durr al-Manthūr* (cf. Brock., *Gal.*, II, 145 where a slightly different title is given to a work published at Cairo in 1314 H.). Cf. al-Baiḍāwī, *Anwār al-Tanzīl*, ed. H. O. Fleischer (Leipzig, 1846), II, 60.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 93. Djāmi' b. Wahb. ed. J. D. Weill (Cairo, 1939), p. 1 says that « Hūd, Shu'aib and Ṣālīḥ and Ismā'īl and Muḥammad the Prophet are prophets of the Arabs. »

[8] Quoted in *al-Fawā'id, op. cit.*, fol. 73 a. This and other well known legends are cited from texts easily available to me, not necessarily the earliest texts.

[9] The use of this word is not without a certain interest. In Ḥaḍramawt today this word is used to mean the anniversary of the death of a saint; this is also the case in Mecca, and C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, trans. J. H. Monahan (Leiden, 1931), p. 279-80 etc., discusses the use of the term there at some length. I am indebted to Professor Ryckmans for the following note : « Ḥwl, divinité, en relation avec Syn : RES 3945, 12 : lsyn wl ḥwl, « A Sîn et à Ḥawl », c'est-à-dire, dans le contexte, les divinités de Ḥaḍramût. Ḥawl correspond en ḥaḍramoutique à Sîn, comme en sabéen Hawbas à 'Almaqah. Le terme marque une idée de récurrence; on y verrait volontiers l'ensemble des cycles lunaires con-

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country[10], again a significant statement. There seems to me little doubt that the Mahrah-speaking area has receded to the East from Ḥaḍramawt, for Shiḥr is described by earlier writers as being in Mahrah country; actually today the Mahrah area is considerably East of Shiḥr. S. B. Miles[11] calls the Manāhīl who inhabit the territory in which the Hūd sanctuary lies, Mahrah, quoting no authority, but I have been told that both the Manāhīl and Mahrah are descended from Ḳuḍā'ah. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭās[12] says that the Manāhīl belong to Banū Ḍannah while the Mahrah belong to Ḳuḍā'ah. Fuller information on the Hūd-legends may be found in the *Encyl. Islam* and sources cited in the footnotes to this article.

Historical Allusions to the Tomb of Hūd.

The texts cited here are mostly not utilised by Landberg, my object being to give an indication that the site of the Tomb of Hūd has been known since the pre-Islamic period.

Ibn Sa'd (*ob.* 230 H. [845 A.D.]), but in all probability deriving from his master al-Wāḳidī (130-207 H. [747-823 A.D.]) states[13] that the graves of three prophets only, are known, Ismā'īl, Muḥammad, « and the grave of Hūd, for it is on a ḥiḳf[14] of sand below (or perhaps « at ») one of the mountains of the Yemen, upon it

stituant une année, comme Warakh (mois) chez les Qatabanites. » Cf. RES. 4067 : hqny ḥwl (ḥaḍram.), Caton Thompson 11.2 : h/s qny ḥwl, Caton Thompson 32 : h/s qny ḥwl. Today one says, « Ḥāl al-ḥawl ḥaḳḳuh, his birthday has come round. »

10 E.g. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller (Leiden, 1884-91), p. 87; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1876-7), p. 76; al-*'Iḳd al-Farīd*, *op. cit.*, II, 386.

11 *Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf* (London, 1919), II, 386.

12 *Risālah fī Ansāb al-Ḳabā'il al-Sākinīn bi-Ḥaḍramawt*, MS. edition in preparation.

13 *Al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau *et alii* (Leiden, 1904-7), I, I, 25.

14 Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, *op. cit.*, p. 148 *seq.* discusses this word, showing that ḥaḳf can mean « creux dans le ravin fermé par un mur » as well as « bande de sable. » This S. Arabian sense which might accord with the actual present day site of Hūd's tomb may have been unknown to authorities such as al-Wāḳidī who was a Medinan. I find it difficult to reconcile statements such as that of 'Abdullāh al-'Aidarūs (*Fawā'id*, *op. cit.*, fol. 77 b.) that the tomb of Hūd is known for certain, and that it is known as al-Kathīb al-Aḥmar, with what actually exists.

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being a tandā-tree[15], its situation being the most intensely hot place in the country. » The assertion that the site of the tomb is known is categorical enough, though the description does not quite fit the present site, for while there is plenty of sand in the vicinity, Hūd's tomb is not on sand, but on rocky scree. I can attest that in July at least, this part of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt is very hot, especially in the town itself where the heat is refracted from both sides of the narrow pass.

A valuable piece of evidence has been brought back to an early date with the publication of the *K. al-Muḥabbar*[16] of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (ob. 245 H. [850 A.D.]) containing a passage describing the pre-Islamic fairs[17]. Krenkow[18] who discusses the content, has show that the passage is more fully given in the later writer Marzūḳī[19] from whose text the excerpt *infra* is taken. Both authorities must have drawn the text from an earlier source which may safely be placed certainly not later than the 2nd century H.

It is stated that the merchants, who, it should be remembered, are usually of inferior standing to the tribal class, made a sort of round tour of the great fairs of Arabia, commencing with Dūmah in Rabī', then travelling by Hadjar, Ṣuḥār, and Dabā, they would come to Shiḥr.

« Then they would travel with all the merchants of sea and land there to Shiḥr, Shiḥr of Mahrah and their fair used to be set up

15 This tree is usually called al-Sidrat al-Ḥamrā', the red *Zizyphus Spina Christi* tree. If such a tree grew near the tomb of Hūd it has long disappeared. It may however have been a sacred tree in association with the shrine, for I have come across several such trees in the Aden Protectorates. There is, for instance, a sacred mishṭ tree at Raidat al-Ma'ārah called Umm al-Salāsah upon which the Bedouin hang their property, believing that God punishes those who touch it (Muḥ. b. Hāshim, *Riḥlat al-Thaghrain* (Cairo, 1350 H.). Ṭandā must, I think, be simply a textual error for sidrah.

16 Pub. Haidarabad, 1942, p. 263 *seq.* Bīrūnī, (E. SACHAU, *Chronology of Ancient Nations* [London, 1879], p. 322), drawing on his work, names it *K. al-Muḏḏar.*

17 Hamdānī, *Djasīrah, op. cit.*, p. 179 *seq.*, contains a list of fairs, bearing no relation to the above passage but including of course, a number of places mentioned by Ibn Ḥabīb.

18 F. KRENKOW, *The Annual Fairs of the Ancient Arabs, Islamic Culture* (Haidarabad, 1947), XXI, II, pp. 111-3. See also Al-Mashriḳ, I, 870 a 965.

19 *K. al-Asminah wa 'l-Amkinah* (Haidarabad, 1918), II, 263.

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under the shade of the mountain upon which is the Tomb of Hūd, on him be peace. They would trade with them in what sells well there (consisting) of leather (udm, but it might mean condiments [20]), cloth, and other commodities, and there they would buy kundur [21] incense, myrrh (murr), aloes (ṣabir), and dukhn-incense [22]. There were no tithes (ʿushūr, a market-tax is meant [23]) there because it is not proprietary ground (arḍ mamlakah). All the Arabs frequenting it for trading take protective escort (takhaffar) of the Banū Yathrib who are a small part of (?) Mahrah [24]. Their fair used to be held on the Niṣf (middle day) of Shaʿbān and their selling used to take place by throwing stones [25]. »

20 This word means anything in which bread is dipped, e.g., fish, meat, or vegetable stew. It might conceivably refer to spices.

21 Dozy, *Supplément*, says of kundur (which is often mentioned as an export from this territory) that it is a remède composé où entre l'oliban (lubān). Lubān is ordinarily used in Ḥaḍramawt for a variety of purposes, and even as chewing-gum by children.

22 The *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, art. Ẓufār, says of « Ẓufār of the Coast » that, « after it is named the costus (ḳusṭ) which is the ʿūd (aloes) they use as a scent, because it is imported there from India, and thence to the Yemen, but it does not grow there. » According to the early 9th century Yuḥannā b. Massawaïh, Traité sur les Substances Simples, ed. P. Sbath, *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1936-7), XIX, p. 22, this ḳusṭ is used in dukhn. The same writer also mentions that a substance named aẓfār is used in dukhn. This he describes as « husks (ḳushūr) of a creature in the sea, in a dwelling of shell, sticking to the flesh. » The *Tādj*, loc. cit., says that aẓfār are « a sort of scent (ʿiṭr) like as it were, a finger-nail plucked from its root, put into scent (dukhnah). » Both these sources are correct for I have seen fishermen at Khawr ʿUmairah, W. of Aden smashing a sort of shell-fish with stones and extracting what looked like a dirty nail-paring from the flesh; they called this substance ẓufrī.

23 Market-taxes are common in the Yemen. In Lawdar of the W. Aden Protectorate the market dues are defined in an agreement between the ʿAwdhalī Sultan and his tribes. Djāḥiẓ, Ḥayawān, VI, 148 refers to the dues (maks) which the Kings of the Arabs used to take on land and sea and in their markets.

24 As it stands, this part of the text seems corrupt. The *K. al-Muḥabbar* reads « of the Banū Muḥārib b. Ḥarb of Mahrah » which I am inclined to prefer.

25 I may have seen this form of sale at Ḳabr Hūd, but cannot trust my memory on the point, for the Arabs play several games on the ground which involve the moving of small stones. The various forms of sale, munābadhah, mulāmasah, etc., since forbidden by Islam, are defined by the traditionists, e.g. Ibn Taimīyah, Al-Ḥisbah fi 'l-Islām (Cairo, 1318 H.) p. 12.

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After the fair those who had anything left to sell would go on to Aden, this in itself being some indication of the size of the fair. What happened is clear. The merchants travelled by sea down the Persian Gulf, and the local Arabs assembled at Hūd by land; to travel by sea the merchants must have taken advantage of the monsoon which would bring them to Shiḥr about November, just as the Basra date-dhows do today and doubtless did then. Krenkow's suggestion, based on the root-senses of the names of the months, that the merchants would arrive at Aden and Ṣan'ā' about the hottest part of the year is impossible, as the contrary monsoon would not allow of this [26]. The merchants then took land escort to Hūd [27] where they would meet with the people from the interior of S. Arabia and Mahrah country who had come to a convenient point in Hūd where they could meet the Shiḥrī merchants — to go all the way to Shiḥr would be too remote. This trade has continued unbroken up to the present day, and for some tribes it may be the only occasion in the year when they purchase their requirements from the settled areas. From Aden and Ṣan'ā' the general flow of trade was to 'Ukāẓ or Rābiyah in Ḥaḍramawt where merchants took protective escort from Kindah. I suppose al-Rābiyah to be somewhere in N. W. Ḥaḍramawt, and it must have been reached by land from Ṣan'ā'. Brief reference is made to the market of al-Rābiyah in Ya'ḳūbī's History (I, 314). Indian and Greek merchants are mentioned as taking part in this trade, especially in perfumes, and the incense-route at this period was evidently by sea and not overland. The description of the site of Hūd's Tomb accords very well with what exists at present, and *no sand-dune* (Kathīb) is mentioned.

Ibn Ḥabīb and Marzūḳī fix the date of the pilgrimage as mid-Sha'bān. According to the Ḥaḍramī paper *al-'Ukāẓ* [28] the first

[26] If my contention be just, it would seem, despite intercalation, that the month-names had already lost their original application *before* Islām — which is interesting but not surprising. On the other hand the Glossary to the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* gives Ṣafar as a season early in winter.

[27] A route from Shiḥr to Hūd is shown on W. Thesiger's map appended to *A Further Journey across the Empty Quarter, Geographical Journal* (London, June, 1949), CXIII, pp. 21-46.

[28] *'Ukāẓ* is a hand-written journal published in W. Ḥaḍramawt, and it ran perhaps for two years. The article, Ilmāmah Sādhidjah bi-Tārīkh Ziyārat

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person to fix the date of the pilgrimage and the spending of the middle night (Lailat al-Niṣf) there was Abū Bakr b. Sālim al-ʿAlawī (of ʿInāt, *ob.* 992 H. [1584-5 A.D.]), but others say that it was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī. Abū Bakr used to stay from the 11th night of Shaʿbān till the Lailat al-Niṣf. Till recently however, says *ʿUkāẓ*, people went on the pilgrimage at the end of the first third of Shaʿbān and not on the Niṣf Shaʿban as nowadays. It will be perceived that with certain interruptions of comparatively recent date the date of the pilgrimage has been fixed since early times. The month Shaʿbān is currently known in Ḥaḍramawt as « Hūd », just as Ḥaḍramis call Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdjah « ʿArafah ». One says :

هُود وَهُوَيْدَان وَلِى يَزُورُونَهْ

Hūd and little Hūd (*meaningless repetition*) and him whom they visit.

Raḥaiyam told me that nowadays, on the 7th of Shaʿbān (al-Shahr al-Birik) one sets off for Hūd, visiting all the saints on the way, ʿInāt and Ḳasam. He said that as a rule, two nights were spent at Hūd, the 9th to the 12th of Shaʿbān, and on the return Tāribah would be reached about the 14th.

Hamdānī [29] also fixes the site. « Then (the traveller down-Wādī) goes down (inḥadar) from it (al-ʿUdjuz) to Thawbah, a village in the lower part of Ḥaḍramawt in a wādī with palms, and the W. Thawbah flows down to Mahrah country and to where the tomb of Hūd (God bless him) is, and his grave is on al-Kathīb al-Aḥmar, and thence into a cave (kahf) [30] overlooking the lower part of the Wādī al-Aḥḳāf [31], and it is a Wādī extending from the land of Ḥaḍramawt to the land of Mahrah, a journey of (some) days, and the people

Nabī Allāh Hūd, appeared in Yr. I, no. VI, p. 283 *seq.*, published in Shaʿbān, 1349 H. (1930 A.D.).

[29] *Djazīrah, op. cit.*, p. 87. Cf. a dubious passage in the *Iklīl* VIII, ed. Anastase-Marie (Baghdad, 1931), p. 202.

[30] This probably refers to the disappearance of the river lower down the Wādī, though it does reappear again later.

[31] ʿAlawī b. Ṭāhir, *Djana ʾl-Shamārīkh* (Aden, 1369 H.), p. 6 makes Wādi ʾl-Aḥḳāf synonymous with Wādi ʾl-Masīlah, i.e. the « Valley containing the River-bed ». Hūd is of course known as Akhu ʾl-Aḥḳāf; I am indebted to Walīd ʿArafāt for a reference to him under this title in the *Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit*, Barḳūḳī edition, pp. 319-20, Hirschfeld edition, no. xci, p. 44.

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of Ḥaḍramawt visit it (Hūd's Tomb), they and the Mahrah, at every time. »

I do not find this passage altogether clear, but it does indicate that the Tomb of Hūd lay approximately where it is today. Thawbah we avoided in our own journey, but it is known, as is 'Idjiz ('Udjuz). Iṣṭakhrī [32] about the same period mentions Ḳabr Hūd near Barhūt.

According to *al-Fawā'id* (fol. 69 b.), « The Imām, the Proof of Islam, al-Ghazālī (*ob.* 505 H. (1111 A.D.) remarked in his book *Taflīs Arbāb al-Nawāmīs* [33] 'and in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt at the Red Cave (al-Maghārat al-Ḥamrā') is a wādī, and above it is al-Sidrah, and there is the grave of the Prophet of God Hūd, on him be peace. From its stones are made (R. yu'khadh for yūdjad) bezels (fuṣūṣ) which are set in signet-rings (khawātim) at the conjunction of Venus and Jupiter.' »

Al-Harawī [34] (*ob.* 611 H. (1215 A.D.) has a brief list of centres of pilgrimage in S. Arabia,

« The Places of Pilgrimage (Mazārāt) of the Yemen. (At) Zabīd the Mosque of the Apostle of God, al-Djanad; therein is the station (maḳām) of Mu'ādh b. Djabal in the Djāmi' Mosque, and therein (in the Djāmi' presumably) is Bīr Zamzam. 'Adan Lā'ah (thus corrected from fol. 155 a) is a mountain upon which is the grave of Luḳmān al-Ḥakīm [35]. (In) Ṣan'ā' is the Mosque of Sām b. Nūḥ and the Tomb of Wahb b. Munabbih. Ma'rib (has) a mosque attributed to Sulaimān b. Dāūd and it is the Djāmi' now, and its ḳiblah is its well (*sic*). » [36]

« The Places of Pilgrimage of Ḥaḍramawt. In it is the Tomb of Hūd, on him be peace, on the side of the mountain from the E. (min al-sharḳ), and at the door of the Mosque in the city of Ḥaḍramawt is the rock upon which he used to give the call to prayer for his prayer (and it is W. of the Mosque [37]). In the lower part of

[32] *Viae regnorum...*, ed. M. J. DE GOEJE, B.G.A. (Leiden, 1870), I, 25. Balahūt should be read as Barahūt.

[33] Cf. BROCKELMANN, *Sup.*, I, 750.

[34] *Al-Ishārah ilā Ma'rifat al-Ziyārah*, MS. in University Library, Cambridge, fols. 13 b & 14 a.

[35] Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, *op. cit.*, p. 152 cites a legend from Ibn Hishām, *K. al-Tīdjān*, that he was buried beside Hūd.

[36] Corruptions or omissions may lie in the text at this point.

[37] Phrase inserted from fol. 155 b.

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the Wādī is Bīr Barhūt which is one of the vents (manāfis) of Djahannam. It is said to be al-Bīr al-Mu'aṭṭalah (the Ruined Well), and al-Ḳaṣr al-Mashīd[38] is in Ṣan'ā'. »

There is one difficulty in interpreting this text, namely in deciding what is meant by « the city of Ḥaḍramawt ». Tarīm or Shibām is usually meant when reference is made to the « city of Ḥaḍramawt », but in neither city is there such a rock, *to the best of my knowledge*. Al-Harawī does not speak of any other place in the country, and I think that the whole passage may be taken as referring to Ḳabr Hūd and district; in which case a reasonable interpretation can be given to the account. The rock is presumably that known nowadays as the She-Camel (Nāḳah) to which at that time the legend belonging really to the Ṣāliḥ story, may not have been attached. We must then assume that there was a mosque lying E. of the She-Camel rock, which is topographically possible. The rest of the description such as it is, suits the site well. Al-Kindī[39] oddly enough mentions, without further detail, the White Mosque in Ḥaḍramawt, a place I am unable to identify. There are today several mosques at Hūd, each of which I was told belonged to a particular tribe or sub-tribe of the Mashā'ikh. The most important mosque is that of the Bā 'Abbād.

Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Muhādjir and the Bā 'Abbād.

Landberg reports a popular account that Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Muhādjir the ancestor of the Saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt, who arrived in the country in the first half of the 10th century A.D., made inquiries for the tomb of Hūd[40]. Bā 'Abbād of Rakhyah in West Ḥaḍramawt, according to Ingrams'[41] version, a caravan muḳaddam, offered to show him the tomb in return for payment. The Saiyid replied that he would give him the tithes of the Wādīs. Legend then says that a dome was built, the Bā 'Abbād became servants of the shrine, and the pilgrimage was established in Sha'bān. (lesser details of the story, taken from Landberg with one or two particulars from Ingrams, I have omitted.)

[38] Cf. *infra*, p. 147.

[39] *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. R. Guest, G.M.S., XIX (London, 1912), p. 360.

[40] *Ḥaḍramoût, op. cit.*, p. 441.

[41] *Arabia and the Isles* (London, 1942), pp. 213-6.

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My own notes state that the Āl Bā 'Abbād on the 5th of Sha'bān must send before the actual pilgrimage, thirty servants from al-Ghurfah where they live now, to put right and repair the road between al-Ghurfah and Hūd; this is a duty. They must repair the Misdjid Bā 'Abbād, and the Assembly Mosque (al-Djāmi' al-Kabīr) by the causeway at the N.E. called Maḥall al-Khaḍir; they must also fill the siḳāyah [42]. Though they live at al-Ghurfah, the Bā 'Abbād own the ground at Hūd. They sell ground there upon which the houses (khadar, pl. khudūr) are built, a yard (wār) costing one or two riyāls. The cost of the repairs they undertake is defrayed from the money paid for the houses. When you wish to build a house there you pay them for the privilege and a deed is written out. [43] I was informed that the Bin Kawb, a fakhīdhah or section of the Āl Tamīm, Bedu, protect Hūd, and they used to sell ground for houses by force, not of right, before the British pacification. Some people pay both the Āl Bā 'Abbād and the Bedu money for the sites of their houses.

There are certain awḳāf belonging to the sanctuary of Hūd, in Tarīm; these seem to be shop property, and they are administered by certain families of the Tarīm Saiyids. When we were living in Tarīm, the administration of awḳāf was in the hands of Saiyid 'Umar Bā Sahl.

In the light of the historical texts *supra* this legend as it stands is almost purely fictitious. At the very time when the rather shadowy Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Muhādjir [44] arrived in Ḥaḍramawt Hamdānī was writing his description of the route to the Tomb of Hūd. It is clear that, from the legend itself, the Āl Bā 'Abbād had some connection with the Hūd sanctuary; they very probably were the hereditary servitors of the shrine, they might even be the descendants of Hūd if he is an historical figure, as so many hereditary sanctuary servitors in S. Arabia are the progeny of the saint

42 I am not sure which siḳāyah is meant, probably that on the plan no. 8.

43 For descriptions of the houses, Landberg and Van der Meulen may be consulted.

44 One of the ulema of Tarīm, 'Abdullāh b. Ḥasan Bal-Faḳīh is nevertheless writing his biography under the title of *Ṣubḥ al-Dayādjir fī Tārīkh al-Muhādjir*, claiming that the Saiyids came from Iraq, li-hadm al-bid'ah wa-nashr al-sunnah. A superficial acquaintance with Ḥaḍrami biographical works makes me wonder where he will find his material.

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himself. Possibly their name Bā ʿAbbād is connected with their function of serving and worshipping. From the limited sources at my disposal I have traced them back to the period of Al-Faḳīh al-Muḳaddam (ob. 653 H. [1255-6. A.D.]). They abandoned the bearing of arms when he did [45].

The legend has the mark of Saiyid ideology. It gives the ancestor of the Saiyids the honour of re-discovering Hūd, identifying him with the shrine, and relegating the Bā ʿAbbād to a secondary place. It seems to me part of the gradual process by which the Saiyids have displaced the Mashā'ikh as the spiritual aristocracy of the community in E. Ḥaḍramawt. A further sign of the older connection of the Bā ʿAbbād with Hūd is that they were « given » the tithes of the Wādīs; the allusion is probably to the tenth furrow which by ancient usage goes to many a S. Arabian saint.

History is mute as to how the Saiyids established their ascendancy in Ḥaḍramawt, but ʿAlawī b. Ṭāhir [46] states that, « The first who organised (rattab) the ziyārah was Saiyid-nā al-Faḳīh al-Muḳaddam then his son Saiyid-nā ʿAlī b. ʿAlawī, and he performed the ziyārah with the people. » This bare notice may reflect the extension of Saiyid activities to the reforming of the Hūd cult.

The Later History of Hūd's Tomb.

According to Shanbal's annals for the year 903 H. (1497-8 A.D.) a certain ʿAbdullāh b. Dalhām built the mosque of the Prophet Hūd. *ʿUkāẓ* [47] says that in 1097 H. (1685-6 A.D.) Abū Bakr b. Muḥ,

[45] According to the *Risālah fī Ansāb al-Ḳabā'il* of Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭās, there is a legend that they were Mawālī of the Banū Umaiyah. I place no faith in this legend at all, that is to say as historical fact, but may it perhaps be the faint echo of an ancient rivalry with the ʿAlawīs? If so, it has evidently long been forgotten, see infra. — Ibn Hishām (P. KRENKOW, *The Two Oldest Books in Arabic Folklore, Islamic Culture* (Haidarabad, 1928), II, I, p. 79) refers to a man of Maʾrib, ʿAmr b. ʿAbbād who attacked Djaʿfar son of Ḳurṭ at his castle al-ʿAlʿal on the river Khafīf in the Aḥḳāf, the river which Hūd created. All one can derive from this passage is the fact that there was a noble family named ʿAbbād before Islām in territory not very distant from Ḥaḍramawt, and there was already at that time some association between the river in Ḥaḍramawt and Hūd.

[46] *Al-Riḥlat al-Hūdīyah*, see footnote no. 71, MS., text composed in 1326 H., a book full of pious sayings, learned and highly moral in tone, with great emphasis upon doing as one's ancestors did (ʿalā ʿādat al-salaf).

[47] See footnote no. 28, and *supra*.

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al-Faḳīh Bā 'Alawī built the first dome over the grave at his own expense, bringing builders from India. *Al-Fawā'id* (fol. 78 b) confirms this statement, saying that he built a large dome « on the side of the split rock (photo, no. 7) ('alā djānib al-ḥadjarah al-munṣadi'ah) » i.e. where the dome is today, but Abū Bakr's dome covered about half of the grave which would make it appreciably larger that the present dome.

'Alawī b. Ṭāhir (op. cit.) says, « Do you know from which time the abandonment of the ziyārah occurred? The first cause of this was that when the Makramī, and then the Wahhābī came, then those who continued following their tenets (madhhab) in the country (itself), the principles (by which the pilgrimage was conducted) became corrupted (taghaiyarat al-ḳawā'id), since they (the Wahhābīs) did not like these things, but the people continued to perform pilgrimage in separate parties, each going with his (own) company and greeting (yusallim [48]). This is the origin (aṣl) of the special preoccupation of each which you see with greeting (taslīm), for when conditions improved and times were better and those beliefs departed, everyone continued to do as he was accustomed. »

The Makramī Shaikh of Nadjrān adopted and forcibly propagated the Wahhābī doctrines about the beginning of the 19th century, and the Wahhābis destroyed all the domes in Ḥaḍramawt as far down as Hūd in a raid under Nādjī b. Ḳamlah in 1224 H. (1809-10 A.D.) [49]. Nor did Yāfi'i chief in Tarīm, Gharāmah encourage the

[48] It will be seen *infra*, that the taslīm is part of the ceremony of the pilgrimage, but of course it is probably a very ancient element in most pilgrimage rites in Arabia.

[49] 'Abdullāh b. Muḥ. al-Saḳḳāf, *Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramīyīn* (Cairo, 1353-7), III, 115. Cf. H. St. J. B. Philby, *Arabian Highlands* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1952), p. 356-9. The *Djana 'l-Shamārīkh*, *op. cit.*, p. 43 gives the first attack of the Makramī on Ḥaḍramawt as falling in 1170 H. (1756-7 A.D.) while Philby says that he extended his sway to Ḥaḍramawt during the years 1760-74. Muḥ. b. Hāshim, *Tārīkh al-Dawlat al-Kathīrīyah* (Cairo, 1367 H. 1948 A.D.), an accurate if a somewhat partisan author, maintains that the Makramī was an Ibāḍī and had about 4,000 troops. He pretended that he upheld the sharī'ah and had come to abolish the sway of tribal law (sulṭat al Ṭāghūt); he seems to have come from E. Arabia. Soon he began to engage in missionary activity on behalf of the Ibāḍī sect, while his soldiers looted property, violated Ḥawṭahs, engaged in brigandage, and destroyed cultivation. As a result of this, avers B. Hāshim, his popularity vanished.

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pilgrimage [50] though he was doubtless not strong enough to put a stop to it. Perhaps Gharāmah saw in Wahhābism a counter-balance to the power of the Saiyids, and he was certainly sympathetic towards Wahhābism. A popular tale I heard in Ḥaḍramawt relates how he attempted to force a well-known Saiyid and scholar of Tarīm to read from a Wahhābī book in public in a Tarīm mosque, but the scholar brusquely rebuffed him. The Saiyid libraries contain a number of refutations of Wahhābī doctrines. So it would seem that the organised pilgrimage of the Saiyids was interrupted during the Wahhābī period, though this was comparatively brief. Lack of security has on various occasions in quite recent times, resulted in the delay, perhaps the abandonment of the pilgrimage, as in the year 1264 H. (1847-8 A.D.) when the Tarīm-Hūd road (al-Ṭarīḳ al-Ḥadarīyah) was cut because of dissensions amongst the tribes (adjnād) [51].

According to Ingrams (loc. cit.) it is only the cupola that is old at Hūd, while the other buildings and the magnificent flights of stairs are fairly new, and due to the benefactions of the Āl Kāf family. *'Ukāẓ* states that the dome was finally rebuilt in 1306 H. (1888-9 A.D.), and he adds that the stairway was also recently constructed. I copied out from an inscription in the gypsum-plaster facing the words, « Nūrat al-Ruḳād 1318, wa-tamām al-nūrah 1319 » i.e. the plastering of the stairway took place in 1900-2 A.D. The stonework was said by the Arabs at Hūd to be ancient, but this is not really evidence.

Kufic Inscriptions at Hūd.

Near the cupola are some graves (see photo. no. 7) with tomb-stones, some of the stones being only a century or two old, but there is one ancient broken stone amongst them of yellowish colour. This stone is in a sort of Kufic writing. Today inscribed grave-stones are made of pottery, incised, and fired to biscuit stage.

⁂

[50] For the history of this period, see also Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt al-Siyāsī* (Cairo, 135415), and *Fī Ḥaḍramawt* (Cairo, 1949) with an antī-Saiyid bias.

[51] 'Aidarūs b. 'Umar al-Ḥabshī, *Iḳd al-Yawāḳīt* (Cairo, 1317 H.), I, 131. Cf. Brock. Sup., II, 821.

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Early Ḥaḍrami history of the Islamic period has to be mostly reconstructed from chance references in classical texts. The *K. al-Muḥabbar* was only available to Ḥaḍrami scholars since publication, and was not yet known to any historians at the time of my visit; as far as I can gather, Hamdānī's *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab* first became known to them when Freya Stark brought a copy to the Wādī. So far has early history been forgotten that the editor of *ʿUkāẓ* can say that there is some doubt about the site but, « When we read of the censensus of opinion of all the principal scholars of Ḥaḍramawt, and of the revelations made to men of Taṣawwuf, we can rest much upon their words and be certain that it is at al-Kathīb al-Aḥmar, the lower part of the Illumined (anwar) Mount toward which people have directed themselves from the time of al-Faḳīh al-Muḳaddam up to our own day. »

Bir Barhūt.

I can add little to previous authorities on Bīr Barhūt. Our camel-men were reluctant to visit this place which they regarded with superstitious fear; we did not press them. Van der Meulen gives most of the usual classical sources in translation, and there are further references in *Oriente Moderno* [52]. Von Kremer's suggestion quoted in the *Encyl. of Islam,* that Bīr Barhūt gave cause to the rise of the Hūd legend, however seem to me baseless, for there is no connection in legend between the two places, and the Shi'b Nabī Allāh Hūd is a locality which, for many reasons, would naturally attract human settlement.

Nashwān b. Saʿīd [53] quotes the ancient tradition that the souls of the Infidels are said to be inside Barhūt, and the Islamic tradition from ʿAlī (who is said by popular legend to have visited, and thus given his name to Bīr ʿAlī on the coast), « Sharr bi'r fi 'l-Arḍ Barahūt, the most evil well in the Earth is Bi'r Barahūt. » Indeed the name Barhūt may have some connection with the name of an evil spirit, for the same curious termination is found in the names of Hārūt and Mārūt. Moreover, an ʿAṭṭās Saiyid known to us and many other Europeans, who practised magic (in which science he had received an idjāzah from a shaikh of the craft), had a familiar

[52] *Oriente Moderno* (Roma, 1933), XIII, p. 492.
[53] *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

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spirit called Sharḥūt. These names have that curious hollow ring to be heard in the poem attributed to the Djinn which I have reported [54].

'Abdullāh al-Saḳḳāf [55] refers to a certain Jew, Kulaib b. Sa'd b. Kulaib al-Barhūtī whose mother was Tahnāh bint Kulaib, born about 33 years after the birth of the Prophet and who died in 43 H. It is interesting to find Jews living so near Hūd.

The Pilgrimage, its Route, Customs, and Ceremonies.

At the time of the pilgrimage to Hūd, a truce used to be concluded between the Sultan of Ḥaḍramawt and the Ḥaḍramī tribes so that all could perform the pilgrimage in security [56]. Economic factors incline all parties to observe and maintain the truce. The tribesman is restrained from his urge to avenge blood or insult, not merely by religious scruple which sits very lightly on him, but by his desire to sell his goats and purchase commodities such as, in particular, cotton cloth. He depends on the Hūd ziyārah for an opportunity to buy what he needs, and there he can obtain the best price for his goats. The tribesman indeed, is as dependent on a market-centre as the settled Arabs, and I have known of cases where a ban on his entry to the market has brought about his submission to the manṣab of a Ḥawṭah [57]. The settled Ḥaḍramis esteem the large goats brought in by the Manāhīl which they purchase to fatten for 'Īd al-Fiṭr.

Much money is spend at Hūd; the Āl-Kāf family for example used to give chupattis (ḳurṣ) and mudds of rice to all those going on the pilgrimage in order to assist them on their way. In like fashion other Saiyid families would give presents of dates and rice to would-be pilgrims. The Saiyids will often exert themselves quite considerably to see that established Islamic practices are maintained.

At Tarīm [58] preparatory to starting forth on pilgrimage the pil-

[54] *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramawt* (London, 1951), p. 12.

[55] *Tar. Sh. Had.*, op. cit., I, 48.

[56] This is common practice over Arabia even in the case of the most insignificant saint.

[57] Compare material in *Two Tribal Law Cases, Jl. Roy. As. Soc.* (London, 1951),

[58] *Al-Fawā'id al-Sanīyah*, fol. 65 b., quoting from *al-Djawhar al-Shaffāf* states that much of Tarīm's virtue, for it is reckoned a holy city, depends on

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grims assemble at (taḥt [59]) the house of the Manṣab of the Sādah Āl Ḥāmid, and the Masdjid Bā ʿAlawī [60]. The Manṣab goes at the head of the people, and they set off early from Tarīm chanting the wird (litany) of ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAlawī al-Ḥaddād who is known as Ṣāḥib al-Rātib, because of his celebrated chant [61] sung all over Ḥaḍramawt. The Saiyids ride donkeys, camels, or horses, though the horse is now uncommon and mostly ridden by Manṣabs of Ḥawṭahs. Some of the wealthier Saiyids are carried in litters of which there are two types, the shibrīyah [62] a longish type, and the miyānah (pl. āt) [63] a squarer kind; these litters are borne by about sixteen men, singing zāmils as they trot. The Saiyids are followed next by the Mashā'ikh, and then by the Masākīn, performing marāziḥ (singing in time to a species of dancing movement). Firstly the Tarīmīs pass by the Ḥawṭah of al-Ḥāwī where they chant (yirattibūn) the Fātiḥah. After al-Ḥāwī they are met by the Dammūn contingent of pilgrims, and the marāziḥ continue until the pilgrims reach the Siddah or East Gate of Tarīm.

The independent Ḥawṭah of al-Ḥāwī belonging to the Āl Ḥaddād Saiyids [64] and lying within the present walls of Tarīm (built in

Hūd, on account of the frequent visits of Tarīmīs to Hūd, who spend days and months there. Cf. also British Museum Ms. Or. 112 Tiryāḳ al-Asḳām, f. 211a.

59 The word « under » is used in the sense of « at » which is literally correct because the Ḥaḍramī has his chief room on the first floor.

60 *Al-Fawā'id*, op cit., 39 a states that this mosque was once known as Masdjid Banī Aḥmad, but is now called Masdjid Āl Bā ʿAlawī. It is the most famous, the oldest and largest mosque according to the author who gives a brief history of its various reconstructions. A sort of hospital seems to have been established there (41 a.). It was founded by the well-known Ḥaḍramī ancestor of many branches of the Saiyids, ʿAlī b. ʿAlawī known as Khālī Ḳasam who came to Tarīm in 521 H. (1127 A.D.) Cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Çufiten* (Göttingen, 1883), p. 4.

61 Cf. Brock., *Gal.*, II, 407, *Sup.* I, 566. Printed texts are now available.

62 A word also applied to some sort of litter used on the Mecca pilgrimage (R. F. Burton, *A Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Mecca* (London, 1893), p. 65).

63 My field-notes give this word also as madjānah (which is probably correcter) as « a litter carried by the Miskīns of the Ḥāfah (Quarter) in which the Saiyids lie, and sometimes sleep, on the pilgrimage to Hūd. »

64 For the Āl-Ḥaddād, see C. v. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût* (*op.cit.*), *Daṯīnah* (Leiden, 1920-42), p. 1787, I. Goldziher, *Der Seelenvogel im islamischen Volksglauben*, *Globus* (Brunswick, 21st May, 1903), LXXXIII, p. 302. For ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥaddād, see Brock., *Sup.* II, 566.

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1336 H. [1917-18 A.D.]) has a special pilgrimage of its own (*vide infra*). At dawn on the pilgrimage day all those who intend to perform the visitation along with the Āl-Ḥaddād contingent, assemble in the room where the Manṣab of al-Ḥāwī, an Āl-Ḥaddād Saiyid, is sitting. The Manṣab brings out what is known as the ḳuba', a large palm spathe (djarīdah), though in 'Ainât bamboo poles are used, with the ḳuba' on top of it, shaped rather like a straw hat (miẓallah) of the type worn by Ḥaḍrami women working in the fields [65], though my friend Saiyid 'Alī b. 'Aḳīl drew its shape for me rather differently, comparing it to a riflebullet. It is stuffed with rags from the clothing of departed saints for tabarruk [66], and the people who sit in the Manṣab's reception room acquire barakah from its propinquity (yitbarrakūn biha 'l-nās) [67]. Saiyid 'Alī averred that although the ḳuba' is said to have been filled with the clothing (libās) of by-gone saints, it was now stuffed with cotton wool. I cannot but wonder if it is an ancient cult symbol surviving into Islam with which some phallic significance was at one time associated. I feel inclined to see resemblances and dissimilarities between the ḳuba' and bairaḳ of the western areas of the Aden Protectorate. The bairaḳ which is a pole surmounted by a crescent in brass and provided with a circle of jingling bells below is undoubtedly a God-symbol, now transmuted into a saint-symbol which can move from place to place [68]. At Buḍah in Daw'an which is the chief centre of the 'Amūdīs, the 'Amūdī Manṣab holds the 'ukkāz [69], sword and ḳuba' of al-Faḳīh al-Muḳaddam [70]. Here again I was informed that the

[65] Photographs in D. VAN DER MEULEN, *Aden to the Ḥaḍhramaut* (London, 1947), no. 41 etc., example in Cambridge Museum of Ethnology.

[66] *Al-Fawā'id*, *op. cit.*, fol. 5 b. refers to the barakah and naf' (benefit) in the clothing of the saints.

[67] The concept of barakah is perhaps most fully discussed in E. WESTERMARCK, *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation* (London, 1933).

[68] H. SCOTT, *In the High Yemen* (London, 1942), p. 167 shows a rather elaborate type of bairaḳ but it is not clear from the text what its significance is. See also, Karl GREBENZ, *Die kleinen Fragmente aus Glaser's Tagebuch xi (Mârib)*, *W.Z.K.M.* (Vienna, 1935), pp. 67-92, illus. no 680 which might represent the top of a bairaḳ.

[69] LANDBERG, *Daṯīnah*, *op. cit.*, p. 1751, bâton porté dans le Sud par le seyyid et le manṣib, c'est-à-dire par une personne d'une situation religieuse, et par cheykh, soit un descendant des Ḥimyarites lorsqu'ils sont en voyage.

[70] The ancestor of the 'Amūdīs is Shaikh Sa'īd of Ḳaidūn, see *Materials*

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stuffing of the ḳuba' consisted of old caps (kawāfī, a term applied to the fez-shaped cap which forms the turban-base) and scraps of clothing worn by the pious ancestors (baḳāyā malbūs al-djudūd). One Saiyid told me that it was a token of the manṣab's office (manṣabah).

The Manṣab of al-Ḥāwī must provide from his own revenues the food for any Ḥaddād Saiyid, and any Ḥabshī Saiyid, i.e. any descendant of Aḥmad b. Zain, the saint of Ḥawṭat Aḥmad b. Zain which lies between Shibām and al-Ghurfah. This is an institution known as Maṭbakh al-Ḥaddād, literally the Kitchen of al-Ḥaddād [71], maṭbakh being the technical term for the provision made by manṣabs for their guests at the Ḥawṭah.

All then collect at the Manṣab's house, those native to al-Ḥāwī and any strangers who attach themselves to the Manṣab's party. A Fātiḥah is made by the Manṣab who asks for a safe journey to Hūd, and coffee is dispensed. The precentor (shallāl [72]) of al-Ḥāwī then « yihawwid » — sings one of the Hūd-songs (tahwīd [73]) such as that translated *infra*, and all thunder out the chorus to a well known musical rhythm which I can still hear in my ears as I write, « Yā Zā'irīn al-Nabī, O Pilgrims to the Prophet ». A second group may reply with a chorus in the same rhythm, « Yā Shaikhanā al-Ḥaddād », referring of course to the saint of al-Ḥāwī, 'Abdullāh al-Ḥaddād. Though there are many Hūd-poems the most interesting I have encountered is the anonymous tahwīd which follows [74];

for South Arabian History, I, *Bull. Sch. Or. & African Studies* (London, 1950), XIII, II, p. 302. Al-Faḳīh al-Muḳaddam is Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad (Ṣāḥib Mirbāṭ) b. Khāli' Ḳasam of 653 H (1255-6 A.D.). The Saiyids, except for certain Bedouin sections, are not now armed.

71 There are Ḥaddād Saiyids in Ḳaidūn where I saw the MS., cited *supra* transcribed in 1332 H., entitled *Riḥlat al-Ḥabīb Aḥmad Ḥasan ilā Ziyārat Nabī Allāh Hūd Sanat 1326*, containing little of interest apart from the names of many learned Saiyids.

72 Cf. *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramawt*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

73 Tahwīd, according to Nashwān b. Sa'īd, *Šams al-'Ulūm* (extracts), edit. 'Azimuddin Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 111, has also the sense of al-mashy al-ruwaid, but neither there, nor in other classical sources have I found the word in the sense in which it is used here.

74 Arabic text in *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramawt*, p. 70, where the poem is discussed at some length. It is probably of a composite nature, as it lacks consistent metre. Other Hūd poetry is to be found in *al-Fawā'id*, fol. 71 a &

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i Thou heedless man, remember God,
And say, « There is no God but God. »
Eternal God, sole Lord of all,
Allāh, Allāh, Allāh.

ii Muḥammad, God's blessing on him,
Who makes all hearts toward him yearn,
My Lord's blessing upon him be,
Allāh, Allāh, Allāh.

iii The Prophet in his ḳubbah [75] is,
For his people interceding
Ever, while the cloud shades him, [76]
My beloved [77], Apostle of God,
Allāh, Allāh, Allāh.

iv Tis he to whom the Gazelle [78] spake,
For whom the camels, longing, moan [79],
God's Apostle, Lord (mawlā) of Bilāl,
Allāh, Allāh, Allāh.

v O, (thou) Seal of (all) the Prophets,
Forbear of Ḥasan and Ḥusain,
With God, Mankind's Intercessor,
Allāh, Allāh, Allāh.

76 a *seq.*, and ʿAbdullāh b. Muḥ. al-Saḳḳāf al-ʿAlawī, *Tārīkh al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥaḍramīyīn, op. cit.*, II, 217. The latter contains a moral and didactic poem on Hūd, but does not quote any portions which might be interesting.

75 Presumably ḳubbah means « dome » here. Raḥaiyam explained the word « Prophet » in this line as Muḥammad, but I think that the first three lines of this verse must relate to Hūd, as must also verse, vi, vii, & viii.

76 Clouds cover the Prophet in his travels; as he moves a cloud moves along with him to shade him from the sun.

77 Ḥabīb, the form of address in Ḥaḍramawt used by non-Saiyids to Saiyids.

78 The story of the gazelle who asked the Prophet to free her so that she might feed her young appears in C. Snouck Hurgronje, Zur Dichtkunst der Bâ ʿAṭwah in Ḥadhramôt, *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke* (Gieszen, 1906), pp. 97-107 in a Bā ʿAṭwah poem.

79 Raḥaiyam told me that camels make a grumbling noise when drawing near Mecca or other places sacred to Muḥammad, smartening their pace in their desire to approach the Prophet.

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vi O Lord of the Illumined Tomb (ḳabr),
Greeting to you, from us Greeting,
Thou Cloud-wrapp'd, Greeting on Greeting [76].
Allāh, Allāh, Allāh.

vii O God, pray we return safely,
Gaining (virtue), Pilgrims, set forth,
For the Illumined Mountain-pass (shi'b); [80]
God's greeting from us on the Prophet,
Allāh, Allāh, Allāh.

viii If the halbā' [81] be safe from Ṭaraf [82] for a night [83]
We 'll build a tent (ḳubbah), and the Prophet shall have a bride.
Ahunnabī, Ahunnabī, Ahunnabī [84].

ix We begin with mentioning God,
We end with blessing the Prophet.
Ahunnabī, Ahunnabī, Ahunnabī.

The poem is chanted with much prolongation of the vowels (madd), especially in the word Allāh. The pilgrims when they have finished shout out their rallying-songs (yinaṣṣirūn [85]) and perform marāziḥ. This, or other tahwīds, is also sung at every village and place where the pilgrims stop on the road to Hūd. Furthermore each contingent of pilgrims from an individual Quarter of Tarīm or from any one village sings the poem when entering the river at Ḳabr Hūd itself. On arriving back in Tarīm on their return from the pilgrimage, they sing it again.

80 The houses and sanctuary-area are usually referred to as Shi'b Nabī Allāh Hūd.

81 Halbā' was described as a kind of ḳamḥ (wheat); cf. Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

82 Ṭaraf is the fourth star of Rabī' and falls in Ḥaḍramawt, about the 19th of February, continuing for thirteen days, till the 21st. A cold period falls in this star and it is this that the farmer fears. For the star-year with bibliography, see my *Star Calendars and an Almanac from South-West Arabia*, *Anthropos* (Posieux, 1954).

83 This verse is much longer than the other eight.

84 I.e. A Hūd al-Nabī, O Hūd the Prophet.

85 Cf. *The Quarters of Tarīm and their Tanṣūrahs*, *Le Muséon* (Louvain, 1950), LXIII, III-IV, p. 277 *seq.*

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The eighth verse of the poem is of outstanding interest. Its sentiments are pre-Islamic, and it will be remarked that the chorus to it is « O Hūd the Prophet ! » The sentiments are such as the peasants whose dance at the Nuḳrah Dam I have described elsewhere [86] might be expected to hold, yet they are embedded in other verses of normal Islamic content to which no exception could be taken by Ḥaḍrami ulema intent on purging the pagan element from the Hūd pilgrimage. I had imperfectly understood the full significance of the verse until I chanced on a passage in Djāḥiẓ [87] in which he discusses the ancient Arabs. « They used to pitch over the bride ('arūs), the structure (binā') like the ḳubbah (tent or dome) and the khaimah (tent or hut made of branches) and tents (khiyam), according as (they were) able, and it would be said, 'she has been built over', by derivation from al-binā', *but that is not said nowadays*. The bride might either stay in her place or pass to a place older (aḳdam) than her structure (binā'). »

To offer Hūd a bride and a marriage ceremony in return for his protection of the wheat crop which the Ḥaḍrami finds especially difficult to rear [88] is reminiscent of ancient Semitic religion, and probably points to ceremonies discontinued, the memory of which is enshrined in this strange verse. The verse must be very old for I have not heard at least, of any practice remotely resembling such a ceremony, though fertility superstitions attach to the shrine of Hūd as elsewhere in Ḥaḍramawt and the Islamic world. Raḥaiyam suggested that by 'arūs a cover (kiswah) for the tomb might be meant, i.e. that the apparel of a bride was intended, but a Saiyid of some scholarship in the classical and colloquial aspects of Ḥaḍrami culture maintained that this could not be so, and found the verse very strange.

Apart from religious nashīds innumerable in the country, the pilgrims have a répertoire of radjaz verses, skits on the nicknames of every village en route, for all towns and villages have nicknames,

[86] *Prose and Poetry, op. cit.*, p. 29.

[87] Ḥayawān, (Cairo, 1356 H. = 1938 A.D.), I, 334. This passage is not very clear to me. The translation as huts of branches would be very suitable in South Arabia. Cf. idem, V, 461.

[88] See a verse of Sa'd al-Suwainī on this point in *Prose and Poetry, op. cit.*, p. 39.

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even Shiḥr and Mukallā. A great mass of poems exists which are in effect catalogues of these nicknames along particular routes, more especially the route to Hūd, and two poems of this sort figure in my collection [89]. These jesting, often ribald verses, are shouted by the pilgrims at each village on the road to Hūd, and replied to, no less vigorously, in similar fashion. The various clans and parties on their way also shout their special nicknames at each other, and are replied to in kind, as they perceive each other en route.

To return to the Āl Ḥaddād contingent however, which we left chanting the tahwīd in front of the Manṣab's house, — they now set off, with the ḳubaʿ at the end of its long pole in front, borne by a member of the family of Āl Manḳar, hereditary bearers of the ḳubaʿ, and miskīns of khaddāmīn by class [90]. The ḳubaʿ-bearer's relatives accompany the ḳubaʿ, and all pronounce the dhikr. As the bearer tires, other members of the family take over the ḳubaʿ. After the ḳubaʿ follow the other pilgrims in three or four groups. called khābbah or marzaḥah, each with five to six ranks. Then comes the manṣab on his horse or donkey followed by his relations, while all the Saiyids with the party ride behind them. Next are the Āl Bā Ḥarmī riding animals, the cost of which is defrayed by the Manṣab, and they are followed by such of the servants (akhdām) of al-Ḥāwī itself, as are performing the pilgrimage, all of whom eat at the Manṣab's expense. These khaddāmīn sing at a dancing trot (yartaziḥūn). The Ḥaddāds have spiritual influence, which includes political influence also [91], amongst the Āl Ḳaṣīr, a tribe of Tamīm, who protect and defend them. When the Ḥaddāds go on

[89] *Prose and Poetry, op. cit.*, nos. 9 & 10.

[90] The Āl Manḳar are reciters at the cemeteries (turbah) of Tarīm, ḳurrāʾ. The Bā Ḥarmī (*infra*) now accounted Mashāʾikh but of inferior caste to the Bā Faḍl for instance, are reciters, and the Mashāʾikh Āl Bā Djābir also. The most ancient teachers of the Koran in Tarīm are the Āl Bā Gharīb. Curiously enough the early historical personage Khālid b. Ṣafwān belonged to the Tamīmī Basran family of Khaṭībs known as Banū Manḳar. One wonders if the similarity in names and professions is more than mere coincidence. Tarīm is of course surrounded by Tamīm tribes. Shanbal mentions one of the Bā Ḥarmī as early as 800 H. (1391 A.D.).

[91] The Manṣab is often a mediator between sections of a tribe. I propose to leave fuller discussion on this issue till publication of the deeds of al-Ḥāwī and Thibī which reveal the state of affairs very clearly.

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the Hūd pilgrimage the Āl Ḳaṣīr provide an escort to accompany them. As the pilgrims leave al-Ḥāwī the women make the ululating sound known as hadjīr [92].

Common themes which the pilgrims may sing throughout the journey are such zāmils as,

سِرَاء يَاْهْلَ ٱلسِّرَاء مِنْ بَغَى مَعْنَا يِنُوّلْ [93]
وَرَخْمَهْ بَا تَقَعْ وَٱلْمَحَوّلْ بَا يِحَوّلْ

(Metre, Banī Mighrāh [94])

By night go forth, o trav'lers of the night,
Who would with us costs of faring share.
Rain will fall, and the peasant will halloo [95].

Parties no doubt share in buying a sheep as on picnics. In the last line it is intended to say that one of the virtues of the pilgrimage is that it will bring rain, a contingency so much desired that the Ḥaḍrami maintains that « Dawlat Ḥaḍramūt al-Raḥmah, the Sultan of Ḥaḍramawt is Rain. » They also sing,

وَٱلَّذِى بَاتُوْا سِرَاء صَبَّحُوا بِٱلْفَايِدَهْ

(Metre, Madīd)

And those who spend the night a-travelling,
When the morn comes, rewarded they shall be.

There are only two halts for meals, one at Ḳasam, and the other at Shi'b Nabī Allāh Hūd itself. The route of the pilgrims lies by Fidjair, al-Djiḥail, to al-Ḳawz. At every village on the way the pilgrims stop and sing at a dancing trot (yitrazzaḥūn). When they

92 *Prose and Poetry, op. cit.*, p. 44, cf. LANDBERG, *Ḥadhramoût, op. cit.*, glossary.

93 سراء would seem to be a maṣdar from اِسْرَاء, usually explained by the grammarians as the absolute object of an understood verb; this is a common colloquial construction. نوّل, to pay one's share of expenses.

94 Discussed in *Prose and Poetry*, p. 25.

95 When the flood comes from the rain the first person to see it halloos and this is carried on all down the Wādī. The hallooing is a sound of rejoicing and at the same time a warning to be prepared for the arrival of the floods. Cf. *Gloss. Dat.*, art. ḥwl.

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reach al-Ḳawz [96] which has a nickname (naḳab) with a ribald story attached to it, they sing,

هٰذَا كَثِيبَ ٱلْبُرّ لِى يَقُولُون قَدِّمْ مَخَالِيكْ وَهُمْ يَكِيلُونْ [97]

(Metre, Radjaz)

This is the dune of wheat where the people say,
« Bring up your sacks, and good measure they 'll pay. »

The next villages on the route are al-Mishṭah, then perhaps they go by way of al-Kawdah, and by Bā 'Āṭīr to Ḳāhir al-Ḳaryah, and 'Ināt. On arrival at 'Ināt they perform the razīḥ as usual, then enter the town and visit the tombs (turbah), and especially the shrine of the celebrated saint of 'Ināt, Bū Bakr b. Sālim. Here they sing such verses as,

بُوبَكْر يَا بِنْ سَالِمْ اِحْضَرَ ٱلْيَوْم معنا

(Metre, || — — ∪ | — — ∪ — || — — — | — ∪ — —)

O Bū Bakr, O Bin Sālim !
Be present this day with us.

بو بكر يا بن سالم خَاظِرَكَ ٱلْيَوْم مَعْنَا

(Metre, || — — ∪ | — — ∪ — || — — — | — ∪ — —)

O Bū Bakr O Bin Sālim !
Your heart be with us this day.

نُور بِنْ سَالِمْ تَجَلَّى وِٱنْكَتَبْ فِى شَاهِدَهْ

(Metre, Ramal)

The light of Bin Sālim [98] shines forth,
And is inscribed on his tomb-stone.

[96] Ḳawz (pl. ḳīzān), *syn.* kawmah ṭīn, a heap of clay. My informant remarked in passing that ṭīn ṣāfī meant fine powdery alluvial clay in which one's feet sink. Landberg gives a very similar sense for sāfī which he reports with a sīn. It is posible that both forms exist. I think that perhaps this is the explanation of the name of that part of the Empty Quarter known as al-Baḥr al-Ṣāfī.

[97] Mikhlāh (pl. makhālī, perhaps makhālīy) a sack made of wool, or old carpet-strips, or else a gūniyah (gunny-bag) for holding grain (ṭa'ām).

[98] One of the signs of the holiness of every S. Arabian saint is the manifestation of light over his tomb. Landberg has discussed this at some

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The next stop after 'Ināt is Ḳasam, and after the halt for food, the pilgrims shout to the camel-men, « Shidūd yā awlād, shidūd, saddles boys, saddles! » From Ḳasam the pilgrims go to 'Idjiz [99] where some visit the saint known as Mawlā 'Idjiz, and then al-Wāsiṭah. At a desert place called al-Sallālah lying between Ḳasam and Khūn, I am not sure of its exact position, one says to the Manāhīl camel-men, poking fun at them,

تَحَاقَرُوا يَا ٱلْجَمَّالَه وَتْعَارَضُوا لِلسَّلَّالَه

(Metre, || — — — — | — ∪ — ∪)

You camel-men, go, abuse each-other,
At al-Sallālah go meet your lover [100].

At Khūn (perhaps Khawn, pronounced actually Khōn) the pilgrims strike perenially running water, shallow, but very lovely. We reached this point by truck from Tarīm, but as the Manāhīl had damaged the road below this point, we proceeded by camel in traditional style. At Khūn the pilgrims sing,

يَا خُون مَا فِي ٱلْخُون فَاتِحَةْ عَيْن
فِيهَا ٱلْعَذَارَى وَٱلْحَرِيم يِزْنَيْن

(Metre, Radjaz)

O Khōn, no girl in Khōn is chaste (at any rate) [101],
Where married and unmarried women fornicate.

length in his *Daṯinah* volume. This belief may be compared with the concept of al-Nūr al-Muḥammadī. For nūr, I was given the explanation of barakah.

[99] 'Idjiz is Hamdānī's 'Udjuz (*Djasīrah*, p. 87).

[100] The ground in al-Sallālah is hard and flat, and therefore considered by the Ḥaḍramī as comfortable for sleeping upon. تحاقر was said by my informant to mean « to have sexual intercourse with each-other » but perhaps such a sense is peculiar to the context, and the word is used by Ḥaḍramīs to avoid coarser language which the Bedouin avoid, and which they might regard as a serious insult. The story is current in the country that a Bedouin when asked how the Bedouin have intercourse in the rocky stony territories in which they live, replied, « Al-falḳaḥah bi-'l-dūl, lying down (on the back here) is by turns. »

[101] Fātiḥat 'ain, means worthy, here, chaste.

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While I understand this as a simple piece of ribaldry, it must be remembered that underlying the superimposed sexual morality of Islam, there is a laxity which in some cases points to the continuance of codes of sexual behaviour greatly at variance with that of Islam. The Bait ʿAlī of the Ḥumūm for instance, are known to offer women to the guest as part of the duty of hospitality; it is possible that there may be some such implication in this radjaz[102].

Beyond Khūn lie certain stones (ḥaṣā), at a place known as al-Maḥdhafah[103]; these lie close to the mountain on the left side before one arrives at Ḥuṣn al-ʿUrr and one of these, a large rock, is called Ḥaṣāt al-Kāfirah, the Rock of the Infidel Woman. It is said that the Prophet (which prophet is not specified) wished to enter this rock, but the rock itself informed the infidels (kuffār) that the Prophet was inside it, a type of legend very common in S. Arabia. The pilgrims stone the rock or fire at it.

Shortly after stoning the Rock of the Infidel Woman, the traveller arrives at Ḥuṣn al-ʿUrr already described by Van der Meulen[104] who reproduces drawings of some of the elaborate carved slabs there. A common motive is a pattern of interlacing grape-vine, tendrils (and the vine is now very rare in Ḥaḍramawt) into which were introduced animals, and in one case a naked (?) woman sitting on a tendril. The animals were not recognised as existing locally, and in some cases they probably do not exist in present-day S. Arabia at all. The column has the appearance of Hellenistic or Byzantine work, and a capital had a distinctly Byzantine shape. There were pictures of men in little kilts fighting a lion, and figures of birds; there was a man carrying a basket of fruit. These stones were too worn to photograph, and are now, I believe, in the Aden Museum. Besides fragments of Ḥimyaritic script, there was a stone which bore what might be early Arabic writing, rather like modern uneducated Ḥaḍrami hands, but not like the Arabic inscription at Hūd.

[102] A very interesting series of notes on practices of this sort amongst the tribes of Southern Arabia is to be found in Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren (Leiden, 1951).

[103] حنف to throw, cf. *Gloss Dat.*

[104] *Ḥaḍramaut* (Leiden, 1932), p. 178.

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Ḥuṣn al-'Urr stands high and isolated on its steep rock in mid-wādī, an imposing sight, commanding all approaches. This carving with foreign motives in such a desert place is startling; though it would not have surprised one in the Yemen. The ḥuṣn itself is built of excellent masonry in a province where most ancient and modern buildings have been constructed in clay. I should like to suggest a tentative identification with al-Ḳaṣr al-Mashīd (Kor., XXII, 45) which is always associated with al-Bīr al-Mu'aṭṭalah in the texts [105]. Legend speaks of a chain of forts from the Yemen to Ḥaḍramawt and perhaps these may be connected with the Hūd pilgrimage route, Ḥuṣn al-'Urr then having an importance more than purely local, but its history is at present unknown. The fort has no water, which has to be brought from some distance, and this makes it less powerful than it might be [106]. It is now occupied by the Ḥaḍrami Bedouin Legion with whom we drank coffee amongst the ruins.

Just before the turn of the Wādī we came upon stones upon which the camel-men sharpened their knives, and shortly afterwards we came to Sawm, a wretched village of no distinction. Our Tamīmī camel-man gave some dust from a tomb which he had visited to one of the villagers. He carried this dust tied in a knot at the top of his mi'waz (kilt), above the belt. From Sawm one goes to 'Araḳ where there are mounds of earth, and thence to 'Iṣim (or 'Aṣam) where the pilgrims customarily pass hours of mid-day heat, and here they sing

يَا رَبّ لاَ تِكْرِمْ عِصَمْ مِنَ ٱلضَّيْف
مَا فِي عِصَمْ رَجَّال يِكْرَمَ ٱلضَّيْف

(Metre, Radjaz)

O Lord, give not unto 'Iṣim summer rain.
The guest, no man of 'Iṣim will entertain.

105 'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, states briefly that al-Bīr al-Mu'aṭṭalah is situated in the East part of the Yemen, in fakhkh al-Khālī, which last term I cannot explain.

106 It will be remarked that below 'Urr the route usually avoids Thawbah known to Hamdānī and possessing a fort planned by Von Wissmann. It must have been an important place at one time, as Hamdānī does not give very detailed lists of places on routes in Ḥaḍramawt.

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These lines allude to the water of 'Iṣim which is so bitter that it is refused by travellers who take good care to re-fill their water-skins elsewhere.

The route now lies by 'Anhī to Fughmah, and just before entering this decaying village the pilgrims shout to anyone they see, « 'allō, 'allō, 'aṭīh daiduh, hullo, hullo, give him the breast ». The story is that those passing by Fughmah heard a child yelling for its mother who was working and so unable to feed it, and the husband tells her to quieten it by giving it the breast. Usually to this is added, « lahu 'l-djalsah, he has colic ». This gives rise to the rule answer, « Allāh yidjlis ummak, God give your mother colic. » [107]

Fig. 1.

Below Fughmah the pilgrims cross the Wādī with its perennial stream full of the fish known as silbān [108] and innumerable frogs jumping about in the water to the south side. Following the wādī a little, the pilgrims come to the famous shrine of Mawla 'l-Dawīlah (705-65 H. [1304-64 A.D.] [109]) around which there are cemeteries, though this shrine cannot be the tomb of Mawla 'l-Dawīlah as he is buried in Tarīm. Further on still is a dome and the tombs surrounding it have little trays in front for offerings (see fig. no. 1). Many of the gravestones have holes in the centre of them, I did not discover why. About this stage of the journey we passed by an impressive freak of nature on the N. side of the Wādī. The cliff which forms the edge of the Djōl is cut by a pass, and to the right of the pass a great pillar of mountain has been eroded from the main wall, but seems nearly to touch the wall. The two mountains seem to face each-other, and the Ḥaḍramis call this Djabal Shammat al-'Āshiḳ [110], the Mountain of the Lover's Kiss.

[107] The transliteration only gives an approximate representation of Ḥaḍramī pronunciation where the djīm is pronounced, and sometimes even written as yā.

[108] Specimens were sent to the British Museum. They appear to be a species of *Barbus* also found near Ṣan'ā'.

[109] Cf. WÜSTENFELD, *op. cit.*, p. 117-124 for this family, and *Tārīkh al-Shwarā' al-Ḥaḍramīyīn, op. cit.*, I, 71.

[110] شَمّ يَشِمّ, to sniff. Classical and contemporary practice in S. Arabia is to sniff at the cheek of a woman or child as if inhaling the fragrance of their skin. In the muṣāfaḥah or greeting the Bedouin also make the sound

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About an hour and a half of marching from Fughmah brought us to Ḳabr al-Kāfirah, the Tomb of the Infidel Woman, E. of Yibḥar. It is a long stone grave, forty dhirā' in size like that of Hūd, and lies North and South. I was told that all the prophets before Islam had graves of this length. The tribes and unbelievers are said to have built this Tomb of the Infidel Woman to attract people from visiting Hūd, and thus deceive them. The pilgrims collect stones and throw them at the grave, saying, « Allāh yil'anish yā Kāfirah, tfuh! God curse you, Infidel Woman, Fie! » Some fire their rifles at it. I think that it may perhaps have been an old sudd or dam; lying on the right of the Wādī, the road crosses the middle of it. In this part of the Wādī indeed, there are frequent signs of former habitation in the wastes, land once cultivated, old dams, leads to bring water from the hill-side to the fields, the stone foundations of old mud houses, and occasionally, though infrequently, red pot sherds; I saw nothing glazed. These evidences of the past are especially common between Fughmah and Hūd.

On the right the pilgrims pass by the Seven Valleys, a series of mighty splits in the mountain wall of the Wādī along which run tracks to other places unknown to the maps. The bedouin camel boy 'Aiḍah climbed up on the back of a camel now we were nearing the end of our way singing in a high sweet longing (ḥanūn) voice almost a croon, a song with the chorus « Yā nūb, O bees » but I was unable to make out more than a word here and there such

of sniffing in some areas. As a mark of respect all sniff at the hand of a Saiyid. *al-Fawā'id* (fol. 98 a) relates the following tale of al-Faḳīh Muḥ b. Abī Bakr 'Abbād described as Imām al-Ṭarīḳain. « When one of the Saiyids of Āl Abī 'Alawī arrived in Shibām the Faḳīh used to know that one of them had entered the town for he would smell his perfume (yashumm rā'iḥatahu), and he would say to his companions, « Has anyone of Āl Abī 'Alawī entered the town? » « We have not heard », they would say, and he would then say to them, « Go and find out about them from the townsfolk. » So they would go and find one of them and bring him to the Faḳīh, and he would get welcome and entertainment (appropriately) respectful to his rank. » For this use of شم see T. NÖLDEKE, *Delectus* (Berlin, 1890), p. 64, l. 18 & W. WRIGHT, *Opuscula Arabica* (Leiden, 1854), p. 99 quotes a poem of Abu 'l-Shaghb al-'Absī,

وآخِرُ عَهْدِ منك يا شَغْبُ شَمةٌ يِشَرْجَ وَداعاً وٱلْمَطيُّ بِنا تَسْري

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as honey and stars. We arrived soon at Diyār al-Ḥabā'ib [111] a little place where the Saiyids Āl Mawla 'l-Dawīlah live, just before Hūd. Some pass the night there in company with the Bedouin Saiyids who dance folk-dances such as the sharḥ. These Saiyids dress like the Bedu (mutazaiyīn bi-zai al-Badū), are shepherds, and possess some palms. Like the Bedouin they carry arms, and the injunction of their ancestor, al-Faḳīh Muḥ. b. 'Alī Bā 'Alawī (ob. 653 H. [1255-6 A.D.]) to abandon arms has evidently not been observed by them; they are not the only Saiyids in Ḥaḍramawt who bear arms. Beyond the frontier of Ḥaḍramawt the Saiyid families of Ḥabbān also bear arms, and in past times the Āl al-Shaikh Bū Bakr of 'Ināt were reproached by their fellow. Saiyids for imitating the tribes in this and other respects.

The pilgrims now arrive at Ḥuṣn bin Kawb, about a quarter of an hour from Hūd, and as they approach the Masīlah or river which takes a turn to the North in front of Hūd, they stop their marāziḥ.

Arriving before Hūd we bathed in the river before entering the empty town beyond which is so awe-inspiring and strange because of its very desertedness. Few Bedu had arrived, and we broke open the door of the Āl Kāf house, not having its wooden key with us. The cries of Yā Hūd from the Bedu re-echo to and fro from the walls of the cleft in which the little town is built. The Bedu had their camels couched in the market, and there were already some brokers (dallāl) there. That night we ate meat and mufattat [112]. During the night a party came in, chanting all over the town, and ending with the Bedouin shriek. The chanting is re-echoed in the narrow pass which is part of the charm and mystery of Hūd. Even the braying of a tethered ass wakes the echoes, curiously taken up by the mountain. One custom at Hūd is to chase the camels with their riders into the place. One man in this party fell off, the fault of the frightened camel; the man was a dallāl from the Āl al-Sūḳ quarter of Tarīm. As they entered, the new arrivals shouted « Yā Nabī Allāh! ». Now and then the Bedu fired shots which re-echoed in the Wādī (al-ṣawt yurādd), reverberating —

111 Pl. of ḥabīb, see footnote no. 77.

112 I.e. chupattis shredded and moistened with whatever is to hand.

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pfumphff! The Bedu were pleased to hear that the pilgrimage was to be held after all, despite the recent troubles, but the pilgrims did not arrive while we were there.

In the sūḳ, the Bedu built shelters of ithil (see photo. no. 2) where they sold goats, cheese, and the like. Merchants from Shiḥr sold cloth mostly of the weave of that town [113], groundnuts, chick-peas biscuits (of local manufacture), and Shiḥri sweet-meats. There were however no cattle and no camels this year, and we saw only about a hundred or a hundred and fifty people, whereas it is asserted that 12,000 to 20,000 people usually come on the pilgrimage.

We bathed in the deeper part of the river next day, which takes one well over the head. There were the largest silbān in it I have ever seen, and many frogs which croak at night with the cicadas. Eastwards beyond the river lies a long plain of 'ilb and acacia country, stretching far off, and in the east bank of the river there are little houses or shelters cut in the clay bank called sarīn [114].

My principal informant in Ḥaḍramawt, 'Abdullāh Raḥaiyam said that sometimes there was fighting amongst the Bedouin present at Hūd, and when the bullets fly, the other pilgrims take refuge in their houses.

The Ground-Plan of the Sanctuary of Hūd.

I should have some hesitancy in describing from memory (after nearly five years) the general plan of the town, were it not for Professor Von Wissmann's kindness in lending me an unpublished air-photograph (photo. no. 1), taken by Squadron-Leader Rickards, of the Cleft of Hūd [115], and for the excellent photographs taken by

113 Examples in Cambridge University Museum of Ethnology. See also Material for a History of Islamic Textiles, *Ars Islamica* (Michigan, 1948), XII-IV, p. 83 & 87.

114 The general shape of these shelters is domed, and it must undoubtedly have been such a shelter as this that I opened in Bīr Faḍl in 1941 and in which there had been a Sabean funerary chamber. The tomb there was evidently entered from the side and the entrance was closed by a stone. While it had the appearance of a sort of pit beneath the level surface of the desert when I opened it, I do not doubt that it was once cut in a clay bank, perhaps the bank of a wādī-bed long dried up and covered with sand.

115 Cf. also *Hadramaut, op. cit.*, photograph facing p. 160.

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Mrs de Sturler-Raemakers (photos, nos. 4-7 and 8-10), and Major Snell's two snapshots taken at the pilgrimage (nos. 2 and 3) which they have very generously allowed me to reproduce by way of illustration. The general position of the Hūd sanctuary is shown, of course, on Von Wissmann's map [116].

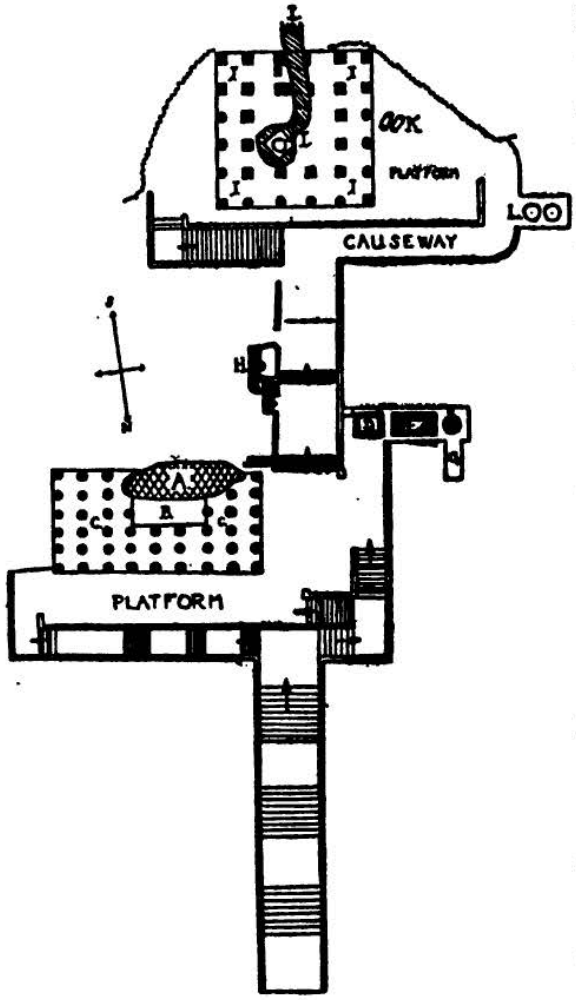

Fig. 2.

In front of the Cleft of Hūd lie large mounds of alluvial clay of no great height, some of which have been dug into for use as building material. These extend along the right bank of the river before it forks to the left (see photo. no. 1), and there is a little tamarisk vegetation here and there. It is conceivable that these mounds might be identified with al-Kathīb al-Aḥmar of the texts. Landberg's informant placed the Kathīb some miles away from the tomb, but the editor of *'Ukāẓ* (*supra*) seems to consider that the tomb actually lies on the Kathīb. By no stretch of imagination however could it be said that the tomb does lie upon a « Red Dune », for it is set on stony scree. It must be admitted that the mounds in the valley would be more suitable for tombs than the mountain-side, where the tomb is now located.

As one stands upon the clay mound at the entrance to the Cleft, a low spur of scree extends from the base of the cliff of the Djōl towards one from the right. Upon this stands the Hūd Sanctuary. The Cleft itself is divided in two by the torrent bed, on either side of which houses are constructed, but the market-place with the

116 Idem, in folder.

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well known as al-Bīr al-Mu'aṭṭalah is on the left-hand side. Further over to the left still, is Ḥaṣāt 'Umar, on the river-bank.

The general plan of the Sanctuary (fig. 2) was made by pacing out the distances, and its various parts are therefore in a very approximate proportion to one another. Mrs de Sturler-Raemakers has however made a detailed measured plan of the dome and its vicinity.

A causeway with three flights of stone stairs leads up towards the first platform, but forks right and left to reach it. At the back of this platform stands the petrified camel (nāḳah), according to the most general legend [117] which is surrounded on three sides by a flat roofed shelter supported by pillars, but leaving a little court open to the sky just in front of the rock. A good photograph of this is reproduced by Harold Ingrams [118]. To the right of the platform the main stair-case and causeway continues upwards to the actual tomb of Hūd, again forking right and left to approach the second platform. Upon this platform is constructed the dome surrounding the rock at the lower end of Hūd's tomb, the tomb itself, stretching up the hill beyond it. To the right of the tomb are some graves, one of which has the Kufic inscription. In the rock at the lower end of the tomb is a split (nukhrah) into which some say that the Prophet Hūd entered to escape his foes; at the top end of the grave is a sort of cairn. On the upper stairs is said to be the footmark of the camel (daḥḳat al-Nāḳah), but there is perhaps some confusion here with the Prophet Ṣāliḥ for I find that the writer in *'Ukāẓ* states precisely that he does not believe that the Nāḳah connected with the shrine is that of Ṣāliḥ, and that this is a wrong belief, a statement which shows at least that such an opinion must popularly be held in Ḥaḍramawt.

The Pilgrimage-Ceremonies at Hūd.

As the full pilgrimage did not take place in the year I went to Hūd, I have had to rely, to supplement what I saw myself, on report from men who had been present at the pilgrimage on many occasions, and on written authorities.

The principal written source is the *Kitāb Wasīlat al-Ṣābb al-*

117 But see al-Harawī, *supra* whose opinion differs.

118 *Arabia and the Isles* (London, 1942), p. 216-7.

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Wadūd ila 'l-Ilāh al-Ma'būd bi-Sirr Ziyārat Nabī Allāh Hūd, composed in Shawwāl 1343 H. (1924-5 A.D.) by Saiyid Abū Bakr b. 'Alī Shihāb al-Dīn, and printed by lithography in the same year at the press of Saiyid 'Abdullāh b. 'Uthmān b. Yaḥyā [119], the service-book of the pilgrim, copies of which are kept at the sanctuary, written largely in sadj'. I plead guilty to abstracting a copy from the shrine [120]. This work is probably only the most recent of a number of similar compositions, for in the Āl Kāf Library at Tarīm, I saw a Ms. entitled *Fā'idah fī Ziyārat Ḳabr al-Nabī Hūd* (transcribed 1277 H. [1860-1 A.D.]), composed by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād (circa 1st half of 12th cent. H.) quoting on the authority of 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Sakrān (818-95 H. [1415-89 A.D.) [121]; *al-Fawā'id* (op. cit.) also contains the same material. I think that the Saiyids must have been very largely instrumental in purifying the Hūd pilgrimage of its more obviously pagan ceremonial, but when they commenced to do this is still a matter of speculation; nor do I consider that this article contains more than a fraction of the superstitions current amongst the peasant and Bedouin relating to Hūd, the Prophet of God, superstitions which can only be inferred from the orthodoxy of Saiyid writings.

Landberg's text [122] and my own experience testify that the pilgrims do not visit the tomb on arrival, but rest the night. The following day they go to the river and pray the Ṣalāt al-Ṣubḥ; they bathe in the river — presumably before the prayer — and go on to pray at Ḥaṣāt 'Umar [123] two rik'ahs according to Aḥmad al-Ḥaddād (*op. cit.*). This place is a paved oratory surrounded by a low wall; it is here that the saint 'Umar al-Miḥḍār is said to have often stayed. This is described in the *Wasīlat al-Ṣabb* (p. 2).

119 See Sajjid Oethman, in *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie* (1917-21), III, p. 69-70.

120 This is now in the Cambridge University Library so that it may be available to scholars, unless indeed Hūd decides that it should return to his sanctuary, according to the current belief that Ḥaḍramī saints can bring back anyhing taken from their shrines.

121 See *Materials for South Arabian History,* II, *op. cit.,* p.581.

122 *Ḥaḍramoût,* p. 432 *seq.*

123 The Stone of 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, but perhaps this oratory is more ancient than the saint himself. 'Umar al-Miḥḍār's mosque is in Tarīm.

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« The pilgrim to the Tomb of the Prophet Hūd (Peace be upon him) must direct himself to the pool (ghadīr) of water of which it is said that it is one of the rivers of Paradise, and perform the ablution and bathe[124]. Then he should pray on the stone known after the Shaikh 'Umar al-Miḥḍār. He should then say, 'Subḥān Allāh (yusabbiḥ), and Al-ḥamd lillāh (yuḥammid), and Lā ilāha illa 'llāh (yuhallil), and Allāhu Akbar (yukabbir)', until he reaches the Well which is ruined so that water cannot be drawn from it (al-Bīr al-Mu'aṭṭalah 'an al-nazḥ). Then he should say, 'Peace upon you o Prophet of God, Peace upon you o Apostle of God, Peace upon you o Ḥabīb Allāh'. Three times that is repeated. Then he should say, 'Peace be upon you and on Muḥammad, Peace be upon you and Aḥmad...' »

Hūd the more ancient prophet, is here addressed before Muḥammad. Muḥammad is then greeted under various epithets, including « The Light-Diffusing Lamp (al-sirādj al-munīr) ». Greetings to various prophets, holy women, angels, and then all the worshippers of God, follow in sequence. These must be repeated thrice. The pilgrim then says (p. 5), « O God, by the virtue (ḥaḳḳ) of this Prophet of yours, Hūd, and by the virtue of the Prophet Muḥammad », beseeching God by the prophets and angels to accept his efforts (sa'y), and to grant various blessings to him, his relatives, and friends.

The pilgrim then mounts towards the tomb (al-Ḳabr al-Sharīf). At this point the text notes that 'Alawī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaddād inserted here a prayer for additional spiritual benefits from God, saying, « We have taken refuge in the nearness of your Prophet and Apostle Hūd, on him peace, we have hastened to his presence (ḥaḍrah) and hurried to his pilgrimage to seek the aid of his blessing (barakah) by performing some of the duty of service (khidmah) to him. » He also asks for deliverance from tyrants, and for the prosperity of rulers and ruled (wulāh wa-ru'āh), etc. A note in the margin says that the pilgrim should only adduce this addition on behalf of himself (li-nafsihi) or a body of those enclosed in a wide space.

[124] اغتسل and تغسّل, commonly used in this sense.

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After these and other prayers, the pilgrim ascends to the tomb, then, standing away from it three or four dhirā' (according to two different sources), he must utter certain greetings and prayers. It is considered appropriate to recite the Sūrah of Hūd before it, then, when the pilgrim has completed the Ḳiṣṣat Hūd, he says, « I bear testimony that you brought the message (risālah) and fulfilled the trust (amānah) » (p. 15).

The *Wasīlat al-Ṣabb* gives an explicit injunction against touching the grave with the hand in greeting (istilām), an act I have often seen take place, nor should the pilgrim kiss (ḳabbal) it. It is added that in the *Madjmū'* of al-Nawawī the touching and kissing of the common people is branded as bid'ah or heresy.

The ziyārah is now completed, but once more the pilgrim should recite Sūrat Hūd, and also *Al-Kawākib al-Muḍī'ah* of Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Hinduwān [125] printed in the service-book *in extenso* (pp. 38-78); an uninteresting liturgy, it contains (p. 52) a blessing on Muḥammad's body and grave. Three Fātiḥahs are now recited, one to Muḥammad, one to Hūd, and the last to the rest of the Apostles and Prophets, their families, companions, and followers.

The pilgrim then asks to be brought, after the Resurrection, into the presence of the Orthodox Caliphs, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, 'Abbās, 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās, and many other holy personages of Islam. To these are added Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Muhādjir [126] ancestor of the Ḥaḍrami Saiyids, such famous descendants of his as Khāli' Ḳasam [127], al-Faḳīh al-Muḳaddam, Mawla 'l-Dawīlah, Mawlā

125 *Al-Fawā'id, op. cit.*, fol. 84 a, punning on the names Hinduwān and Ḥaddād, makes him a contemporary of the celebrated 'Abdullāh al-Ḥaddād (*ob.* 1099 H. (1687-8 A.D.).

126 Cf. F. WÜSTENFELD, *op. cit.* According to *al-Fawā'id* he left Basra in 317 H. (929 A.D.) and ultimately settled at Bait Djubair (S. of Tarīm, up the Wādī) where he dug a well. The cause of his departure from Iraq is said to have been (fol. 126 a) the supremacy of heretics (ahl al-bida'), and the hard treatment meted out to the 'Alawī Ashrāf, and the appearance of the Zandj who took Muslim women prisoner. While I greatly doubt the historicity of this statement, the pathetic tale of the hardships endured by the Saiyids is in the usual tradition.

127 WÜSTENFELD, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5 commits a natural enough error concerning this epithet. A خَلْع is a place in a wādī where palms are planted, a palm-garden. The khāli' is the person who first plants a new palm-garden,

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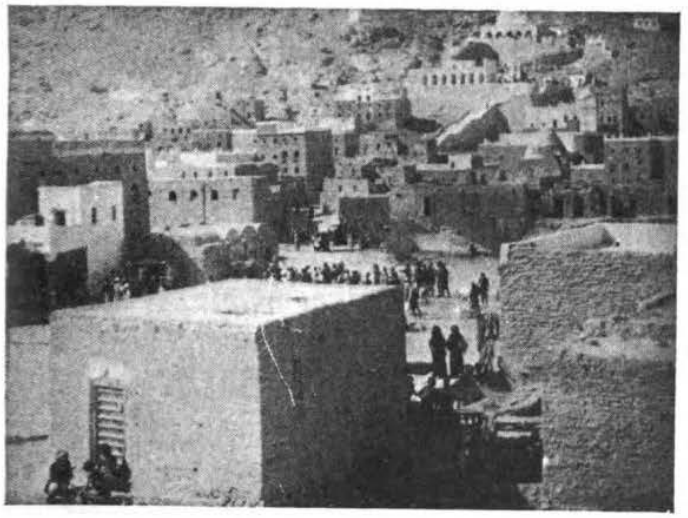

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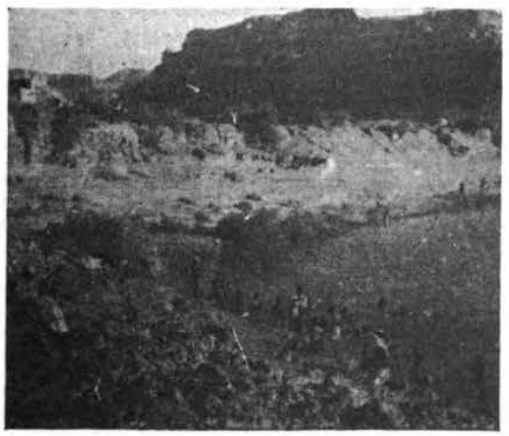

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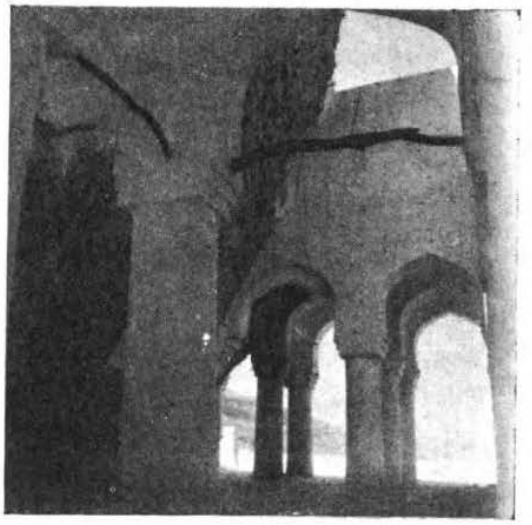

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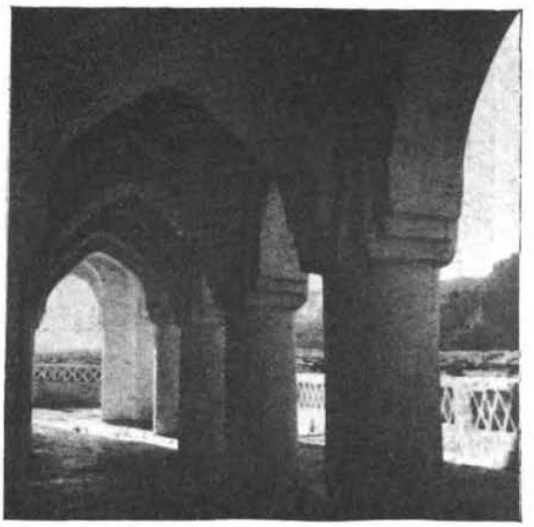

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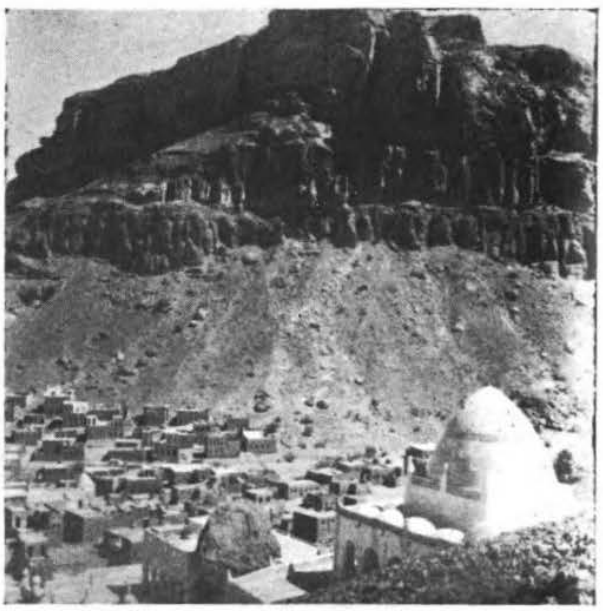

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'Aidīd [128], and other noted Saiyids. To these are joined Muḥ. b. Abī Bakr 'Abbād [129], all the Mashā'ikh, and the people of East and West (presumably the Muslims). Amongst other prayers protection is sought against (p. 84), « the wickedness of the Satans and Sultans (sharr al-Shayāṭīn wa-'l-Salāṭīn). This is doubtless a very pointed reference to the tribal rulers of Ḥaḍramawt, and its existence here shows the great power of the Saiyids as opposed to the mere temporal rulers of the country.

God is asked to accept « the pilgrimage from us, from you, and from all the pilgrims (zuwwār) to this Noble Prophet... and to make it an accepted pilgrimage (ziyārah maḳbūlah) ». The phrase « ziyārah maḳbūlah » is of course the appropriate greeting to a pilgrim. God is also asked to « set aright the Āl Abī 'Alawī Saiyids, to set aright what lies between them, to do by them good, to compose between their hearts for good, and to decree a just Sultan for this blessed Wādī (yuṣliḥ al-Sādah Āl Abī 'Alawī, wa-yuṣliḥ mā bainahum and yuṣliḥ bihim wa-yuwallif bain ḳulūbihim fī khair), etc. »

The allusions to political conditions are interesting and indicative of the part the Saiyids have always played in politics. Perhaps one should see in the mention of a just Sultan some reference to the Kathīrī Sultans whom most Saiyids have always favoured, perhaps not. More significant still, however, is the way in which the Saiyids have associated themselves with the Hūd cult, and the secondary position which they accord to the Mashā'ikh; while an

and this is why 'Alī b. 'Alawī (settled in Tarīm in 521 H. (1127 A.D.) is known as Khāli' Ḳasam. *Al-Fawā'id* (fols. 129 a & 132 a) says that he bought land for 20,000 dinars and named it Ḳasam after land (arḍ) in Basra which his family owned, planted it with palms and built a house where he could repair at the time of the ripe (ruṭab) dates. Others built houses near his, and it became the well-known village of Ḳasam mentioned by al-Djanadī (*sic*).

128 WÜSTENFELD, *op. cit.*, p. 6, etc.

129 I am indebted to Saiyid 'Umar 'Abdullah, Āl al-Shaikh Bū Bakr for information on Muḥ. b. Abī Bakr (Bā) 'Abbād. Born 710 H. (1310-11 A.D.) he received a general idjāzah from the shaikh Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al Būnī al-Tūnisī al-Maghribī who visited Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt, in 752 H. (1351-2 A.D.). From Muḥ. Bā 'Abbād a number of scholars such as 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saḳḳāf derived their learning. He died in Ramaḍān, the first day of the 9th century, H.

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'Abbād Shaikh a celebrated scholar is mentioned, no other notice whatsoever is taken of the long-standing connection of the Bā 'Abbād with the sanctuary. I see no reason to doubt that the Bā 'Abbād have been associated with the sanctuary from pre-Islamic times, just as the Banū Shaibah have been connected with the Kaaba; there is no proof of this as yet, but in view of persistent Arabian custom it is probable. Al-Shardjī [130] gives the biography of a Bā 'Abbād shaikh, Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh (ob. 686 H. [1287-8 A.D.]) buried in Shibām, who on one occasion, visited Hūd at the head of about 1,500 persons. It may well have been in these days that Mashā'ikh families headed the pilgrim contingents as the Saiyids do nowadays; perhaps it was the special privilege of the Bā 'Abbād to do so, and that is why legend describes them as descended from a caravan muḳaddam.

The Organisation of the Pilgrimage at Hūd.

According to the writer in *'Ukāẓ* (1349 H. [1930-1 A.D.]), many parties began to go on the pilgrimage as time went on, and the order of their visitations was fixed as follows,

1. The pilgrimage of the Nā'ib of the Noble Dome of Āl Bā Faḳīh (al-Ḳubbat al-Sharīfah).
2. The pilgrimage of the Manṣab of the Shaikh 'Abdullāh Bā 'Alawī.
3. The pilgrimage of the Manṣab of the Shaikh Abū Bakr b. Sālim (of 'Ināt).

He adds that, on account of the great crowds, three other ziyārahs were instituted,

4. The pilgrimage of the Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Sakrān.
5. The pilgrimage of al-Ḥabīb 'Abdullāh b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād.
6. The pilgrimage of the Saiyids of Āl Bā Sahl.

The formation of a separate Ḥaddād contingent, must, I suppose have taken place some time after the foundation of the Ḥawṭah of al-Ḥāwī probably about 1099 H. (1681-8-A.D.), while the Āl Bā Sahl contingents may have been formed when the Āl Bā Sahl was the richest Saiyid family in Ḥaḍramawt, about a century ago;

[130] Al-Shardjī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Khawāṣṣ* (Cairo, 1321), p. 70.

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like the Āl Kāfs they coined their own money, but I have only seen examples of the copper coin known as Saif wa-Mīzān [131].

The same writer says that the Nā'ib Bal-Faḳīh visits Hūd on the 9th of Sha'bān; this is followed by the visitation of Āl Ḥaddād, while on the evening of that day comes the visitation of the Manṣab of the Shaikh 'Abdullāh Bā 'Alawī. The Āl Shihāb come on the loth, followed later by the Manṣab of Abū Bakr b. Sālim of 'Ināt, and in the evening the Āl Bin Sahl have their visitation.

The fore-mentioned arrangement was, he says, made by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭās [132] quite recently, and though nothing is said of quarrels or differences, I infer that Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭās probably acted as mediator in the rivalries of these religious dignitaries, for although the Saiyids do for the most part, work to maintain the supremacy of the Prophet's family, they have often bitter dissensions amongst themselves. Raḥaiyam informed me that, at one time, there were many district ziyārahs, such as for example, the Mawla 'l-Dawīlah contingent, but that there are only four distinct contingents nowadays which he gave as,

1. The Āl Bal-Faḳīh pilgrimage.
2. The Āl Ḥaddād pilgrimage.
3. The Āl Shihāb pilgrimage.
4. The Āl Shaikh Bū Bakr pilgrimage.

It will be seen that this agrees with the list of the writer in *'Ukāẓ*, but omits two of the contingents, probably because today they are less numerous than the others. I suppose too that there must be numerous small parties which attach themselves to one of the big Saiyid contingents as they go through the ceremonies. Shanbal mentions a Daw'an contingent of 300 men led by a certain Bū Bakr Bā Ḳais as visiting Hūd in the year 905 H. (1499-50 A.D.).

Major Snell who had the good fortune to witness the entire pilgrimage on a subsequent occasion, informs me that the fifth morning is accounted the most important, for then the Manṣab of 'Ināt of the Āl al-Shaikh Bū Bakr enters the town in the

[131] Four of these equal one khumsīyah (pl. khamāsī), cf. Leo HIRSCH, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien Mahra-land und Hadramūt* (Leiden, 1897), Münzen von Tarīm, and J. ATKINS, *Coins and Tokens... of the British Empire* (London, 1889), p. 191, no. 215.

[132] Biography in *Materials for South Arabian History I, op. cit.*, p. 301

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morning by way of the pool, with band and drums and leads a procession round the entire town with zāmils and shooting. He added that the sixth day is the Bedouin ziyārah, for which the Manṣab of ʿInāt remains, going in procession to the tomb at the head of the Bedu.

It seems that in the case of cities with several quarters, each quarter enters the river in a body, but the people of ʿInāt, the Āl al-Shaikh Bū Bakr enter as one party despite the fact that there are several quarters (ḥārah) in ʿInāt, al-Ḳawr, al-Nukhur, al-Khunaidarah, and al-Sūḳ. Raḥaiyam also thought that ʿInāt had a quarter called al-Khulaif.

Further Notes on the Sanctuary and its Ceremonies.

Al-Bīr al-Muʿaṭṭalah [134] to which reference has been made from time to time, looks like the top of a well which has been filled in, but there are no traces of what it may have looked like in the past, for its parapet and the small dome over it are nicely finished in gypsum. It is also known as Bīr al-Taslūm (or Taslīm) because the pilgrim says, « Al-Salām ʿalaik yā Nabī Allāh » there. ʿAlawī b. Ṭāhir [135] says of it, « We reached the Place of Greeting (Maḥall al-Taslīm) at the well wherein, it is said, are the spirits of the Prophets. It is the custom of the (pious) ancestors (Salaf) to greet the Prophets in that place. » From the lack of serious historical information about this well I think that it must be so ancient that, like Mawlā Maṭar, nothing of its origin or purpose is remembered. In none of the classical texts I have examined is al-Bīr al-Muʿaṭṭalah connected with Hūd; notably in Hamdānī [136] who does mention

[133] The quarters of ʿInāt are said to have disputes similar to those I have noted at Tarīm (cf. *The Quarters of Tarīm and their Tanṣūrahs, op. cit.* Shibām probably only goes to Hūd in one contingent, though it has two quarters, the Ahl al-Saḥīl (pl. Siḥwal, syn., ṭaraf al-djabal) only having come into being as a quarter (*extra muros*) since 1340 H. (1921 A.D.); the town quarter is known as Ahl al-Bilād. Saiyūn has two quarters, al-Saḥīl, and Ahl al-Ḥawṭah.

[134] E. BRÄUNLICH, *The Well in Ancient Arabia* (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 60 & 68, quoting from the *Lisān*, XIII, 481, 14, says that a bīr muʿaṭṭalah is one « from which water is not drawn, and no profit is derived from what is in it. »

[135] In *al-Riḥlat al-Hūdīyah*, vide footnote no. 71.

[136] *Djazīrah, op. cit.*, pp. 66 & 200.

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such a place, it is sited nowhere near Ḥaḍramawt. On the other hand Baiḍāwī [137] relatively a late author but probably following a fairly old tradition, says that, « It is said that what is meant by a bi'r (well) is a well at the foot (safḥ) of a mountain in Ḥaḍramawt, and by a ḳaṣr a castle overlooking its hill (ḳullah), both of which belonged to the tribe of Ḥanẓalah b. Ṣafwān of the remnant of the people of Ṣāliḥ. When they killed him, God destroyed them, and ruined ('aṭṭal) the well and castle. » It is curious that this ruined well does not seem to be in any way connected with the Hūd legend. Water here can of course be obtained from the Masīlah or river without the trouble of drawing it from a well which is at no great distance from running water. The Koranic passage cited does not seem to refer to any particular well or castle, but if the other sources can be trusted to any extent perhaps the Prophet was referring to the « Ruined Well » which lies near Hūd, though I feel sceptical about it.

After visiting the Ḳubbah and praying, the pilgrim when he descends to the Nāḳah-rock, sings mawkhadhs (pl. mawākhidh, muwākhidh), also known as shalūlahs such as the following quite conventional chant composed by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Sakrān [138]. It was quoted to me in part by one of our company and I have since found it in *al-Fawā'id* [139].

يَا ذَا ٱلْبَرَيْقَ ٱلشَّرْقِ
يَلّى تَنَمْنَمْ مِن قَدَا قَبْر هُوذ
سِرْ زُرْهُ وَٱخْذَرْ تَكْسَلْ
وَٱطْلُبْ مُرَادَكْ مِنْهُ حَوْلَى ٱلضَّرِيخ [140]

(Metre, Radjaz type)

137 *Anwār al-Tanzīl*, ed. H. O. Fleischer (Leipzig, 1846), I, 635. Rather fuller information also in *al-Fawā'id*, *op. cit.*, fol. 18 b. Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (Cairo, 1906), I, 309 cites a tradition locating them in Bawn of the Yemen.

138 The uncle of the 'Aidarūs saint of Aden ('amm al-'Adanī).

139 See fol. 76 b. These two lines quoted to me are taken from two separate four line stanzas, the complete text showing minor variations.

140 يلّى is equivalent to يا الذى . تنمنم flash, cf. Landberg, *Gloss. Dat.* نمنم rayer. قدا cf. *Gloss. Dat.* These verses are also found in the British Museum

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O (thou) whose lightning flash flickers forth from the East,
O (thou) one flashing from beside the Tomb of Hūd.
Go, to him make pilgrimage, beware faltering,
Around the Sepulchre seek out your wish of him.

After this has been sung, the pilgrims will take up the following nashīd, [141]

يَا وَجِيهِ ٱنَّهَا هَبَّتْ رِيَاحَ ٱلسَّعُودِ
وَٱوْمَضَ ٱلْبَرْق فِى ٱلدَّاجِى مِنَ ٱقْصَا ٱلنَّجُودِ
ذَكَّرَانِى لَيَالِ (sic.) قَدْ خَلَتْ حَوْلَ هُودِ
شِعْب قَبْرَ ٱلنَّبِى ٱلْمُرْسَلْ وَفَّ ٱلْعَهُودِ
كُلَّ مَا لَاح بَارِقْ فَوْق وَادِى زَرُودِ

(Metre, Fā'ilātun fa'ūlun *bis* [142]).

O Honourable One, the happy winds of fortune blow,
In deep darkness lightning flashes from the furthest uplands.
Nights around Hūd, now passed away, they recall unto me,
Cleft of the Prophet's Tomb, Apostle faithful to his bonds [143],
At every lightning flash that flickers o'er Wādī Zarūd. [144]

One of the objects of the pilgrimage is to obtain one's wish through the intermediary of Hūd. Within the Dome of Hūd itself the pilgrim will take a little rag or rolled up thread, wet it, and throwing it onto the inside of the Dome, say, « baghait kamāh, I want another like it », so as to obtain for instance, a new fūṭah. The Dome and walls are be-spattered with these tiny balls of

Ms. Or. 112 Tiryāḳ Asḳām al-Ḳulūb, f. 215 b, which gives an account of the ceremony (f. 217 a).

141 This poem is incomplete. It will be remarked that it is mashṭūr, and though doubtless not very old, it is in the highly conventional and ancient tradition of S. Arabia. Both poems are written in the semi-colloquial semi-classical diction discussed in *Prose and Poetry*.

142 For this metre, cf. *Prose and Poetry*, p. 48.

143 Hūd, it will be recalled, faithfully discharged the duty laid upon him of transmitting God's message.

144 A wādī of the Ḥidjāz according to Yāḳūt's Mu'djam.

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cloth, and indeed the practice is common all over Ḥaḍramawt [145]. I was told that the pre-Islamic custom of offering a bad tooth to the sun in exchange for a good one is still current amongst the common people [146]. The expression used is said to be, « Yā 'ain al-shams khudhī sinn al-ḥimār wa-'ṭīnā sinn al-ghazāl, O eye of the sun take the ass's tooth and give me the gazelle's tooth. » To bring children, one finds little strings of stones, looped in a piece of string or rag and hung into a stick stuck into a crevice of the grave — mostly in the long part of the tomb protruding up the hill beyond the dome. I could discover nothing about the underlying beliefs which give rise to this custom, but I think that perhaps women may have put at least some of these stone wreaths on the grave.

The plaster over the rock under the dome is worn smooth with kissing. The pilgrims try to squeeze into the split in this rock with which many legendary tales are connected.

After the actual pilgrimage ceremony 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir [147] mentions the ilbās, a rite which may, I suppose, be considered Islamic in type. If a pilgrim wishes, the Manṣab will « invest him » (yilabbisuh) at Hūd, with the ḳuba' which he has brought from his native place, and the pilgrim will thereby acquire benefit (tabarruk). The Manṣab takes the ḳuba' off its pole, and puts it on the pilgrim's head like a cap (kūfīyah), turning it round with his hands, a little to right and left, saying the Koranic verse « wa-libās al-taḳwā dhalika khair (*Kor.*, VII, 25). During the actual festival the ḳuba' reposes in the Manṣab's house at Hūd when not brought out for ceremonial purposes. Of 'Abdullāh al-Ḥaddād (ob. 1706-7 A.-D.), *al-Fawā'id* (fol. 546) says, « He often invested with the Ṣūfī mantle (khirḳah), the well-known cap (ḳub', the fez-shaped base of the turban) of Āl Abī 'Alawī for some of the people at the times of the visitation to the Prophet Hūd, on him be peace. » On the occasion mentioned by *al-Fawā'id* he seems to have invested great numbers of people.

145 It seems that this sort of practice was also current in the Yemen, for Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (ob. 840 H. (1346-7 A.D.), *Al-Baḥr al-Zakhkhār* (Cairo, 1949), IV, 164 says of the mosque that, « the suspending of threads on its door, and kissing of its stones is disapproved. »

146 Noted for instance by al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah*.

147 *Al-Riḥlat al-Hūdīyah, op. cit.*

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This can only be a reference to the investiture with the Āl Ḥaddād ḳuba' This is a common practice, and if you visit a saint such as 'Abdullāh al-Ḥaddād of al-Ḥāwī outside the pilgrimage-season you can have this investiture performed for you by the Manṣab should you wish. No fee is paid for the investiture, though of course few Ḥaḍramis must visit a saint without bringing some present however small.

I was told that before Britain established security in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, the tribal chief Bin Yamānī stopped the Ḥaddād contingent at Ḳasam and would not allow it to proceed. He seized the Ḳuba' and threw it down — a typical instance of the tribesman's not infrequent disrespect for what is venerable and sacred to the Saiyids and Mashā'ikh; one is reminded of the story of the Ḥaḍramī Kindite Imru'u 'l-Ḳais when he broke the arrows of Dhu 'l-Khalaṣah.

One of our party jestingly remarked to us that were he to have intercourse with his wife (mankūsah), i.e. lying tilted head downwards, on the steps of the causeway leading to Hūd's Tomb, she would conceive. I thought little of this at the time, for Ḥaḍramis maintain that if a woman places a cushion under her hips in order to allow the semen to flow into the womb, conception is more likely to take place, but in view of the passage in the *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar* [148] which implies the existence of hierodules of honourable family in pre-Islamic Ḥaḍramawt, I am inclined to see more significance in such sex-practices in any way connected with shrines. Van der Meulen has drawn attention to the fertility cult at the little conical shaped hill in the bed of the Wādī 'Aidīd which he mentions as being used by childless women as a place of worship [149]. What actually happens is that a woman who does not become pregnant within two or three years after marriage goes up to the top of this hill which is called Ḳārat Mawlā 'Aidīd and which stands by itself. She strips herself and lies naked on the top of it, on her back, as if prepared for intercourse. In some cases her husband goes with her and has intercourse with her on the top of the hill. She will then become pregnant. My informant said, « Ba'ḍ al-nās djarrabū hādhā wa-'stafādū, Some people have tried this out and

[148] *K. al-Muḥabbar, op. cit.*, p. 185.
[149] *Ḥaḍramawt, op. cit.*, p. 139.

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benefited. » It is, of course the shape of the hill with its phallic associations which has led, doubtless since remote antiquity, to the performance of these rites.

Above the scree slope under the Djōl cliff, to the left and North of the Cleft of Hūd, can be seen three white dogs (or at least animals of some sort), probably done in gypsum daubed on to the rock. These are said to have been thrown up there by the Nabī Hūd. Nowadays they are used as marks by the Bedouin who shoot at them from the town. I was unable to discover any more information than this concerning them.

The Return from Hūd.

After waiting several days for the main body of the Hūd pilgrims we returned to Tarīm. Rows of bright lamps had been placed on the buildings in all the towns and villages on the way back in celebration of the Niṣf Sha'bān.

About a week later when the small contingent which ultimately set out from Tarīm, returned, we witnessed, amidst a great crowd, the procession of the pilgrims, firstly a few camel-riders, one man holding his little daughter on his saddle, her lovely face and gay frock spread out flowerlike. The Masākīn entered performing the razīḥ [150] with great vigour; there were several bodies of them, each of two or three ranks, containing about sixteen men per rank. Javanese and even Chinese faces were mingled with the purely Arab physiognomy of the pure-bred local Masākīn. Many women came out to watch, with rouged lips and gay clothing. As they go through the town, the returning pilgrims sing such verses as,

سَلَام يَا ٱلْغَنَّاءْ وَٱلنُّور مِنْ فَوْقِش
ذَا ٱلَّا عُمَرْ مِحضَارْ خَيِّمْ عَلَىَ دَوْرِشْ [151]

(Metre, || —— | — ∪ — ∪)

Greetings, o al-Ghannā' (Tarīm) and the light above you,
None other than 'Umar Miḥḍār protects your wall.

150 Cf. *Prose and Poetry*, p. 29.

151 Al-Ghannā' is a name or epithet of Tarīm as ancient as Hamdānī's *Djazīrah* (cf. index). دور is an encircling wall.

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Passing along the sail-bed, N.W. of Ḥamṭūṭ the pilgrims disappeared into the town. The route which is to be taken by the various Quarters of the city when they send contingents on the pilgrimage, is carefully laid down, and one of their documents dated 1204 H. (1790 A.D.) terminates a quarrel about the route, which had fallen about between Mawla 'l-Sūḳ and Mawla 'l-Khilaif — by which terms they mean the Sūḳ and Khilaif Quarters. This « Way of the Pilgrim to Hūd » of course is only restricted within Tarīm itself, and the « Hunting Road » is also exactly defined. The object is, naturally, to prevent the outbreak of inter-Quarter disputes.

Pilgrims from Beyond Arabia.

For the Islamic period, I have encountered little evidence indicating more than a local importance for the Hūd pilgrimage until the recent large emigrations of Ḥaḍramīs to Indonesia and East Africa. *Al-Fawā'id* (fol. 72 a) however, reports a curious tale of a visitation made by twenty-five virgins from India, pious women, under the leadership of a lady named Ṣafrā bint Khaṭlā who visited Hūd before 895 H. (1490 A.D.) unaccompanied by any man. Again, in the late 8th or early 9th century H. *al-Fawā'id* (fol. 68 b) speaks of fuḳarā' (fakirs?) of Khurāsān, going down to Hūd. I find it difficult to give credence to either tale.

Danyāl b. Hādūn b. Hūd.

In 1948 I passed by the tomb of Hādūn b. Hūd at Balad Hudūn, on the right side of the Wādī Daw'an travelling northwards. It was pointed out to me on an eminence and is said to be a long grave of the usual forty feet [152].

In the Wāḥidī Sultanate however lies the sanctuary of yet another descendant of Hūd, known generally as Landberg testifies accurately [153] as Bin Hūd, in the Wādī Hadā, W. of Ṣa'īd. It is agreed however that his name is Danyāl which in itself is a curious name which no-one for instance, the Arabs said to me, would call his child. Another source gave me his nisbah as Danyāl b. Hādūn b.

[152] In a country so full of holy places it is not possible to visit every shrine, interesting as each one is. A visit usually also implies staying to eat, a lengthy affair.

[153] *Arabica V* (Leiden, 1898), p. 202.

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Hūd b. Danyāl b. Hūd, but again he is said to be simply Danyāl b. Hūd. He is said, of course, to originate from Ḥaḍramawt.

From Ṣa'īd the plain is crossed westwards to an opening in the mountains. The stream-bed shows that there is evidently a fast rushing sail-flood at the rains, and though the flood had come down two months ago (I went up in late November) there were pools under the large rocks. In all the pools there are frogs and one or two kinds of fish, which did not look quite the same species as those collected in Ḥaḍramawt, ruffling the surface of the water in their flurry at our party. It is a hot narrow valley of high beetling cliffs like the Djōl-face in Ḥaḍramawt bottomed with lovely smooth water-washed sand with many trees and bushes. Great rocks lay about the sail-bed and we scrambled between them, especially at the entrance from which the Wādī debouches abruptly into the plain. Slices of the mountain have been cut away by the sails of many a year. The camels went up and down the stony places with difficulty, but the camel-man stopped to collect rāk, and came on after, hailing us. Our voices as we hail back are returned by the rocks upwards and upwards in the narrow pass till lost in an infinity of small echoes. There is silence but an occasional high-up twitter of a bird, strange with the echo. We sat down under an over-hanging place scooped out by the flood, in the narrow part of the Wādī and let the camels graze while we ate and slept. We explored a cave on the other side and found traces of the wabr, foxes and baboons, but saw no wild animals themselves. A bird sang very sweetly. Soon after the rās, a spotted black and white goat arrived, and all seemed pleased. It was bound to a green bush and broused innocent of its imminent sacrifice to Bin Hūd.

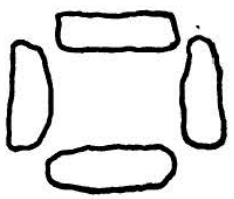

Fig. 3.

Further up the Wādī are two small holes, one above the other in the Wādī-wall two or three feet above ground-level. One or two tribesmen who passed the place touched the part between the holes. Some say it is the foot-mark (daḥḳah) of Bin Hūd's camel; he was being chased by the Infidels (Kuffār), so the camel leapt up at this point onto the Djōl above, knocking a piece of the cliff away in its flight. The sail then swept down and carried away the Infidels — in much the same way as Pharaoh's hosts.

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Eventually we came to a large square rock in the bed of the Wādī, with many Ḥimyaritic graffiti over it, some in hardly accessible places. Near by were stones shaped and placed in the ground as in fig. 3. I saw a very similar square in the ground near Ḥuṣn bin 'Uthaiman not far from Ḥabbān [154].

Fig. 4.

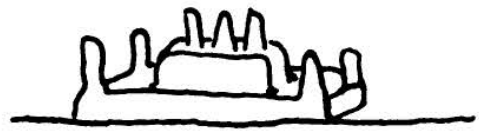

Fig. 5.

Beyond this point the Wādī carries on to Hadā, about two hours distant, and then to Sharīrah four hours away; the distances are approximate. We however, struck off to the left up the hill and came to the deep narrow pool mentioned by Landberg [155] who however never saw it himself. This pool is in a kind of cavern formed by an immense rock which is directly over the top of it — an impressive freak of nature; we filled our skins there, and continued up the mountain side till we reached the tomb of Bin Hūd, an undistinguished building, beside which was a crude shelter quite large, but ruinous, with the typical fish-oil lamps (see fig. 4) of some age past. Ṣār-trees [156] grow near the Walī.

Entering the room in which the tomb was placed (fig. 5) the visitants touch the four corner-posts of the grave in turn, circumambulating it in a counter-clockwise direction. The rās was slaughtered and a fire made, then when well alight, stones were flung on the top and the meat grilled on them. The meat was divided by the

154 I was struck with the similarity, insofar as one can judge from superficial surface observation, between these squares and the photographs in M. Wheeler's *The « Port-Hole » Cists of Brahmagiri, Illustrated London News* (Nov. 15, 1947), CCII, pp. 554-7; the latter lie between the third and first centuries B.C. Cf. A. S. Kirkbride and L. Harding, *The Seven Wells of Beni Murra. Quarterly of Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine*, 1944. xi. nos 1-2, p. 41, E2. for graves like those at B. Hūd.

155 *Arabica V*, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

156 Cf. *Prose and Poetry*, *op. cit.*, p. 130, line 2. Ṣār was said to be found in the Nadjd of Ḥaḍramawt, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, *op. cit.*, p. 471 says, wa-huwa thamr al-nakhl al-mukl, the dawm-palm.

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man best versed in the complicated rules for sharing it out, and palm-fronds with a little knot in each were used to mark out each individual's share, but one share is left over for the stranger, or if none presents himself, to the first person one meets on the road, until the party reaches the white cairn which marks the boundary of the Ḥabaṭ or Ḥawṭah of Bin Hūd. By the route we came, the cairn stands at the entrance to the Wādī Hadā, where it meets the plain, but I was told that the misyāl itself or Wādī-bed lying between the great beetling cliffs, only a few yards wide in places, is not within the Ḥawṭah.

I have transcribed a passage from a MS. entitled *al-Ḳawkab al-Azhar al-Munīr* [157] which I saw in Ḥabbān, and it gives such information as is likely to be obtained, about the lonely shrine of Bin Hūd,

ويحكى ايضاً عن بعض الثقات ان نبى الله ذانيال بن هادون بن نبى الله هود عليه ونبينا محمد افضل الصلاة والسلام المقبور باعلى شعب لَجَب المعروف باسفل وادى هَدَى كان مجهولًا ولا يعرف لاحد ابداً حتى اظهره وشهره سيدنا الفقيه على بن محمد بن عمر وكان يكثر زيارته واذا طلع العقبة حدا بالصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد صلعم فيسمع الجواب من نبى الله ذانيال بالرد عليه بالحدا فاشتهر وبنى عليه داير واظهر قبره وهو الآن مشهور ويزار من كل مكان وله زيارة معلومة مشهورة فى شهر رجب ثانى جمعة منه فى كل عام وقد حضرتها مراراً عديدة وتجمع له فيها من الابل والبقر والجلب ما لا يحصى وتذبح جميعها وتشوى وتقسم بين الزوار اسهماً سوا سوا الكبير منهم والصغير ولو رضيعاً والذكر والانثى والحر والعبد والشريف والضعيف لا يزاد احد على احد ويخرج لنبى الله ذانيال سهماً [158] لمن اتى بعد القسمة وهكذى كل زاير فى ساير السنة

[157] See *Materials for South Arabian History I, op. cit.*, p. 306.

[158] *Sic*, but it must be read as nominative. The style here is in the simple classical Arabic of so many South Arabian works, very close to the colloquial. Dialect words are in *Gloss. Dat.*

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ويجتمع له ايضاً فى تلك الجمعة كثير من مطابق التمر ما يساوى اللحم ويقسم اسهماً والمتولى لذلك والجامع له رئيس الطايفة آل با عوظه لانهم مستعقدين فيه عقيدة واثقة نفع الله به امين .

It is related also on the authority of one of the reliable persons that the Prophet of God, Dhāniyāl b. Hādūn b. Nabī Allāh Hūd upon whom and upon our Prophet Muḥammad be the greatest blessing and honour, buried at the top of the well-known Shi'b Ladjab in the lower part of the Wādī Hadā was unknown, and nobody was ever acquainted with it until our Lord (saiyid-nā) the Faḳīh 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar [159] revealed and published it abroad. He used to visit it frequently, and when he went up the pass he would urge on his camel by singing [160] of blessing and honour on our Lord Muḥammad, and he would hear the response from the Prophet of God Dhāniyāl, replying to him in (the same sort of) singing. It became well-known and a wall was built about it [161] and his grave was revealed, being now famous and visited from every quarter. It has a recognised and celebrated pilgrimage in the month of Radjab, on the second Friday of it every year. I have been present there many times. On the occasion (of the pilgrimage) camels cattle, and sheep without number are got together for him (presumably B. Hūd); all are slaughtered, grilled, and divided in shares amongst the pilgrims, equally amongst great and small, even if a (mere) suckling, male and female, freeman and slave, sharīf and ḍa'īf [162], no individual receiving more than another. A share is put out for the Prophet of God Dhāniyāl, for him who comes after the division (has taken place). Thus also (does) every pilgrim during the rest of the year. On that Friday many baskets [163] of dates are collected together also which (are treated) like the meat and divided into shares. The person in charge of (all)

159 I was informed that he flourished about 700 H. (1300 A.D.) coming from Abyan to Ḥabbān where he is buried. Landberg was told (*Arabica V*) that he was contemporary with Bū Bakr b. Sālim of 'Ināt (17th cent. A.D.), but I prefer the earlier date.

160 See *Gloss Dat.*, p. 380.

161 In certain cases actives might be read here for passives.

162 These words must be used in their technical senses referring to Saiyids Mashā'ikh, etc., and peasants.

163 Maṭābiḳ properly means some flat receptacle, a tray, and Landberg, *Gloss Dat.*, interprets it as a tray for rice. This is exactly appropriate here because bread is brought to the guest on straw mats folded in two; dates could be so carried equally well.

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this, and responsible for collecting it together is the chief of the tribe the Āl Bā ʿAwḍah, because they believe in him firmly, may God profit (us) by him, Amen.

While accepting the re-foundation of this sanctuary by the Faḳīh ʿAlī, perhaps even in its present location above the actual Wādī Hadā, the Ḥimyarite graffiti, the freak of nature of the deep pool, and perhaps the ancient stones in the Wādī, all show that this has been a place of visitation of some sort or other from pre-Islamic times. The text quoted *supra* shows that the mystery of this narrow echoing valley was felt by the Arabs who constituted the area a Ḥawṭah, and it shares this attribute with the Pass of Hūd. Moreover the name Danyāl or Dhāniyāl is so curious that I am tempted to suggest a Jewish provenance for it. The Bā ʿAwḍah are a Ḥimyar tribe, and the classical texts state that Judaism had made headway amongst Ḥimyar. In Ḥabbān the Jews averred that the large karīf or reservoir still known as Sāḳiyah Badr Bū Ṭuwairiḳ [164] was once owned by them, and they maintained that they had held land here once and that some still held the title-deeds though the land had been taken a long time ago, and sold by the dawlah (i.e. Sultans) leaving them with their cemetery only. While these Jews may or may not have been established in this territory from pre-Islamic times [165] there is at least the possibility that they are descendants of proselytes amongst the Ḥimyar who owned property in Ḥabbān and elsewhere and that they were associated with the prophet Dhāniyāl. I find the name of the Mashāʾikh of al-Rawḍah, Āl Isrāʾīl also a little suspicious for in S. Arabia this name is rarely encountered. A Jewish origin would of course be carefully forgotten, especially by those claiming « spiritual powers ». It is not without interest to mention that local people

[164] The famous Ḥaḍramī Sultan who went to Ḥabbān in 955 H. (1548 A.D.); cf. *Two Tribal Law Cases, op. cit.*, p. 40. The karīf in question is however much older than its name, and I think one would not err in considering it to be pre-Islamic. If the Jews at one time owned the karīf which is so important to Ḥabbān, it seems to me that it can only have been so because they were masters there.

[165] The Ḥabbān Jewish community no longer exists, but a good account of it is to be found in *Edoth* (Jerusalem, 1946), The Jews of Ḥaḍramawt, by Touvia Ashkenazi.

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told me that B. Hūd was contemporary with Naḳab al-Hadjar which they associate with an eponymous ancestor 'Umar b. Khawlān known to the Arab genealogists [166].

The Bā 'Awḍah told me that the date of the pilgrimage was Radjab 12th; one leaves Maifa'ah on the Thursday and sacrifices on the Friday. Each year the meat and dates belonging to Bin Hūd are divided by a different section of the Bā 'Awḍah in the rotation, Hal Yamanah, Āl Biḥārah, Hal Dhiyaib; Bin Hūd is especially the walī of the Bā 'Awḍah. The waḳfs for the upkeep of the shrine are on land in the Wādī Maifa'ah, the income being mostly in dates which I presume are mainly consumed at the pilgrimage. The ra'āyā of Maifa'ah are under the protection of B. Hūd (fī widjhuh) and pay him five riyāls (ḳirsh) every year; they are said not to be molested by the tribes [167]. All classes perform the pilgrimage to Bin Hūd, and as they go they sing,

زُرْنَاك يَا بِنْ هُوذْ وَزُرْنَا وَادِيَك
لَبَا كَرَامَهْ يِنْزِلِ ٱلْمَاءْ فِى ثَمَانْ
لَا دَيَّعَ ٱلْغَادِى وَسَقَّى مَيْفَعَهْ
حِمْلَيْن نِذْرَكْ يَا فَرَاسَ ٱلْهِنْدُوَانْ [168]

(Metre, Radjaz)

O Bin Hūd we 've visited you, visited your valley.
Now we want a miracle, the spate down this week at morn.
If, to irrigate Maifa'ah, down the flood-water comes,
To you, Mare of the Temper'd Steel, I'll vow two loads of corn.

Though I did not see the Wādī Hadā in flood, it is clear from its position that it should irrigate extensive tracts on the right of

166 E.g. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd*, *op. cit.*, III, etc.

167 I greatly doubt the truth of this statement.

168 L. 2, labā for nabā, thamān a week. L. 3, ghādī was paraphrased to me as a sail-flood, but as rain usually falls in the evening or at night, the flood comes down next morning, and this is, I think, how the word must be derived. Bal-Faḳīh al-Shiḥrī (Mukallā MS. p. 403) speaks of al-ḥadīd al-Hinduwān, Indian steel (؟). Other dialect words are in *Gloss Dat.*

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the W. Maifa'ah. I find the epithet, « Mare of the Temper'd Steel » a little difficult, but Bin Hūd is perhaps apostrophised in this way because he is conceived of as a knight of the hosts of Allāh. It is very curious to find so classical a word as « Hinduwān » used in a tribal radjaz, I can only consider it as part of the poetic diction of the colloquial.

On returning from Bin Hūd we were greeted with the usual wish, « Ziyārah maḳbūlah. » to which we replied formally with « In shā' Allāh. » We were told of the usual saintly attributes of Bin Hūd; if you take anything away from the shrine he will either make you return it or punish you; you could leave your shirt, for example, there for years, and return to find it where you had left it. If you fire a gun in his Ḥawṭah it does not go off.

Mawlā Maṭar.

We visited this tomb on October 23rd, 1947. The tomb has already been described by W. H. Ingrams [169], but there are certain additional evidences as to its age which have induced me to include it in this article.

Mawlā Maṭar lies N. of the military post, and like Hūd and Bin Hūd it is situated in an impressive ravine which has some vegetation. It lies to the right of the West Road to Wādī Ḥaḍramawt near the torrent-bed. The tomb itself (fig. 6) probably lies roughly N. and S. It is a low flat-roofed building, oblong in shape, and consists of a long flat grave, encircled by an ambulatory, the length of the grave when paced out, being approximately forty feet. The flat roof has projecting pieces at the top and foot of the grave; it is supported by walling at intervals round the tomb as marked in fig. 6. At each end of the tomb there is a sort of trough containing dust; about the middle there is a tombstone in Kufic

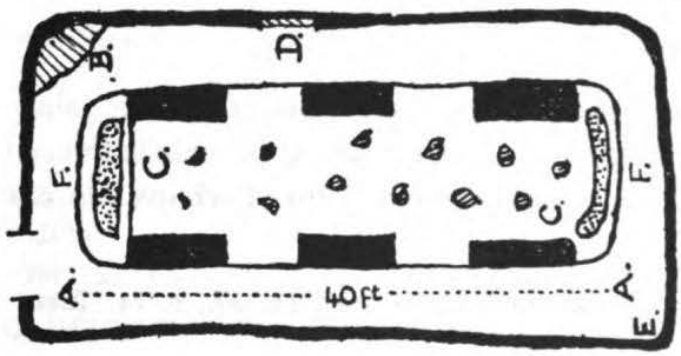

Fig. 6.

169 *Arabia and the Isles, op. cit.*, p. 166.

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writing not unlike that at Nabī Allāh Hūd, and broken pieces of stone, some with fragments of Kufic script are stuck at intervals into the flat plaster surface which is formed of polished gypsum, and shaped rather like a long shallow basin.

In the corner left of the entrance a grave is set in the wall, and there were other alcoves and niches there. Outside were tombs with the usual ḳafas, or ark-like adobe structure on top. On some of the tombs, cots had been laid [170], but these are sometimes placed over a little heap of stones to ward off harm from a living child.

Furniture of the usual sanctuary type lay inside, two lamps shaped as in fig. 4, known as sirādj al-ṣīfah, fish-oil lamps. When I picked up a lamp of this type at Shiḥr in association with mediaeval Islamic and Chinese pottery onlookers objected because, as they said, it was a mosque lamp; they are common all over S. Arabia. There were also coffee cups, kettles, and a mashrab of a Daw'anī type [171]. The Bedouin feast periodically at the shrine which has probably therefore some waḳf to defray the costs of entertainment.

Sitting idly piling pebbles into a little heap, two Bedouin of Āl Murshid told me that they knew nothing of Mawlā Maṭar except that he was a prophet. Though they knew how to pray, they had never heard of the Hidjrah when I asked if Mawlā Maṭar had lived before or after that event. With typical Bedouin modesty they excused their ignorance by saying picturesquely, « Niḥn Badū, mā nifham illa 'l-ḍuḥā wa-'l-'ashā, We are Bedouin, understanding nothing except morning and evening. » [172] The shrine however is usually deserted and I saw no attendants for it.

Other Pre-Islamic Prophets.

My informant 'Abdullāh Raḥaiyam gave me a list of the pre-Islamic prophets of Ḥaḍramawt which however cannot be exhaustive. He mentioned, of course, Hūd, and Hādūn b. Hūd. Perhaps the most

170 For the type see VAN DER MEULEN, *Hadramaut, op. cit.*, p. 24. There is also a model in Cambridge.

171 Example in Cambridge; cf. G. CATON-THOMPSON, *The Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha* (Oxford, 1944), pl. XXVII.

172 These Bedouin pronounced shaikh and 'ain as shākh and 'ān, a little disconcerting at first to the listener.

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notable of the other prophets are Ḥanẓal and Ḥanẓalah whose tombs are W. of Bōr in Wādī Madar, long tombs, side by side. These prophets are of course known to Islamic tradition; Ibn al-Kalbī [173] says that Ḥanẓalah b. Ṣafwān was the prophet of the Ahl al-Rass. In their country was a mountain Damkh where the fabulous bird known as the 'Anḳā' lived; it attacked a maiden and Ḥanẓalah seems to have had it destroyed. A mountain Damakh in Ḥaḍramawt is mentioned by Ingrams [174].

Nabī Allāh Ṣāliḥ in Wādī Sar at Djabal 'Asnab, eight hours walk from Shibām has been visited by Ingrams [175] and others. The length of his grave waxes and wanes, but it is about forty feet in length. The Ṣāliḥ legends are well known in Ḥaḍramawt, for a popular proverb says,

عاقر النّاقه واحد والدّمْدَمَه على الكلّ

It was one man who hamstrung the she-camel, but the punishment (fell) on all. [176]

I know nothing but the name of Nabī Mawlā Rikhaim near Ḥuraiḍah, W. of Shiḥrah, E. of Mabrad, N. of Siḳāyah Marbadah; it is probably a short grave. In Wādī Daw'an are the tombs of Nabī Allāh Shīth b. Ādam (Seth), and Nabī Allāh Tubba', the latter between Ṣīf and Fail, E. of Ṣīf at Ḍumur [177] Wādī Fail. They are long graves forty feet in length. I must have passed by them, but they were not pointed out to me, and are not indicated on the map.

173 Quoted in the *Fākhir of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama*, edit. C. A. STOREY (Leiden, 1915), p. 161. Cf. Baiḍāwī, *op. cit.*, II. 40, *inter alia*.

174 *Report on... the Hadhramaut*, Colonial no. 123 (London, 1937), p. 102.

175 *Hadhramaut, A Journey to the Seiwar Country... Geog. Journal* (London, 1936), LXXXVIII, II which contains a photograph; it also has some notes on Hūd.

176 The proverb was quoted to me as referring to Ṣāliḥ. By دمدمه my informant averred that « earthquake, punishment » was meant, but the classical senses fit equally well. Ṣāliḥ of course is also connected with N. Arabia; see the *Encyl. of Islam*, and the valuable note in the *Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1905), X, V, p. 146.

177 Presumably the plural of ضمير a barrage.

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In the Daw'an area is also Nabī Allāh Yūsuf, Mawlā Wabrah, in Wādī Laisar, E. of Ḥūfah, near the grave of the Shaikh 'Umar Mawlā Khaḍam al-'Amūdī [178]. Raḥaiyam said that in the case of Nabī Allāh Yūsuf, « rās ḳabruh ilā Bait al-Maḳdis, the head of his grave lies towards Jerusalem. » On the nūrah (gypsum) he had seen written, « kumilat 'imārah nūratuh sanat 518, the construction of the gypsum (finish) was completed in the year 518. » (By this I infer that in 1124 A.D. the place was given a new plastering of gypsum, but there was probably already a shrine in existence there

Tubba' is said by Nashwān b. Sa'īd [179] to have been a prophet, though Baiḍāwī [180] is doubtful about the interpretation of the Koranic passage upon which this statement is based. Tubba' is said to belong to Ḥimyar, and many of the Daw'anī tribes belong to Ḥimyar, including those of the region in which the grave of Nabī Allāh Tubba' is situated.

The *Djāmi'* of Ibn Wahb [181] contains a tradition related by 'Amr b. Djābir al-Ḥaḍramī from a companion, « Do not curse Tubba' for he had embraced Islām. » According to the tradition put forward by Jewish scholars, says Weill, it was this Tubba' who was converted to Judaism.

Observations.

It cannot but surprise one that the Saiyids, stemming from a single ancestor who arrived in the country about a thousand years ago, should have come to play so important a part in so lawless a country. As Landberg has pointed out and the *K. al-Muḥabbar* seems to confirm, the religious aristocracy of Ḥaḍramawt before the Saiyids and before Islam was the class known as the Mashā'ikh. Many Mashā'ikh families must remount to pre-Islamic times, even if other families have subsequently been accepted into this class over the centuries. The power of the Mashā'ikh families lies in the social-political organisation they control, centred round their shrines they serve, as indeed one may see in the 'Amūdī territory in the

178 For the 'Amūdīs, see *Materials for South Arabian History I, op. cit.*, p. 302.

179 *Shams al-'Ulūm, op. cit.*, p. 12 seq.

180 Al-Baiḍāwī, *op. cit.*, II, 40.

181 J. David-Weill, *Le Djâmi' d'Ibn Wahb* (Cairo, 1939).

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Daw'an area. In all probability, the Saiyids, by attracting attention to their own shrines, the tombs of pious ancestors, diverted the people from the older sanctuaries which doubtless fell into disuse and ruin. The Saiyid manṣabs have precisely the same social-political-religious organisation in their Ḥawṭahs as the Mashā'ikh, and both classes tolerate many superstitions or practices, pre-Islamic in nature, which attach to their shrines. Another method of Saiyid intrusion into Ḥaḍramawt may have been by re-founding older sanctuaries, as the Mashā'ikh seem to have done in the case of Bin Hūd. In some cases the Saiyids seem to have attached the Mashā'ikh to their cause, and in others to have incurred their rivalry. I suggest that they have successfully dispossessed the Bā 'Abbād of most of their spiritual power at Hūd.

A yet more ancient stratum of religious aristocracy than either of these classes may perhaps be seen in the sanctuaries under the control of a Khādim, as the Khādim of Miṭḥāf in the Wāḥidī area. Perhaps these Khādims were displaced by the Mashā'ikh [182].

As regards the Saiyids, I am inclined to think that they must at first have had an uneasy existence in a country where Ibāḍism was powerful, a sect which could only be hostile to their claim to privilege because of their descent. How the Ibāḍīs were overcome does not really seem to be known to Ḥaḍramis themselves, but I might be right in assuming that when al-Faḳīh al-Muḳaddam abandoned arms, Ibāḍism was no threat to the Saiyid position in the country.

182 The use of the term khādim in its technical sense as a temple guardian or perhaps priest seems ancient. *Al-Kisā'ī, Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. I. Eisenberg (Leiden, 1922), p. 103 relates a legend on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih concerning one of the kings of 'Ād who had three idols to whom he appointed Khadam according to the number of the days of the year, and he names one of the nobles (Ashrāf) and most pious amongst them. Perhaps too the use of the word Ashrāf is significant in the context, because families of Ashrāf with religious standing are to be found in S. Arabia. It seems to me at least that from this passage one may deduce that this term was known in the first century of the Hidjrah to describe much the same office as the Khādim holds today. Abū Makhramah (O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, Uppsala, 1936-50) mentions in various places certain individuals as being Khādims of shrines, e.g. vol. II, pt. I, p. 21 where a shaikh is mentioned as being the Khādim of al-Ribāṭ at Aden.

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It will be remarked that at the present time the Saiyids are powerful in the most populous and fertile part of Ḥaḍramawt, the Mashā'ikh dominate the settled but less important Daw'an region, while most of the shrines described above as pre-Islamic in origin are in places remote from the main centres, at the tops of long side-wādīs and the like.

In Ḥaḍramawt as in other Muslim countries a dislike of saint or ancestor cults has already manifested itself, though but faintly; it would be difficult to hazard a guess if and when this will affect the cults which have held sway in the country under one form or another for so long.

London.

Supplementary Note.

The newspaper *al-Nahḍah* (Aden, 14th May 1953), IV, CLI, p. 2, reports that the Manāhīl tribesmen who consider they possess certain rights in the pilgrimage, refused this year to allow cars to go to Hūd as this was depriving them of their revenues from camel-hire. For some reason also the Manṣabs of the Ḥawṭah and Saḥīl Quarters of Saiwūn refused to perform the pilgrimage this year, nor did any other Saiyids of the town go to Hūd except a cloth-merchant of the al-Ḥabshī Saiyids. It is a custom of the Quarters to go out to greet the Manṣab on his return from Hūd followed by the pilgrims, but as this was not possible the Saḥīl Quarter went out, beating their drums to greet the pilgrims who were headed by al-Ḥabshī, faute de mieux.

PHOTOGRAPHS

No. 1. Air-photograph of the Cleft of Hūd.

No. 2. The market-place at Ḳabr Hūd before the arrival of the main parties of pilgrims. In the top right hand corner can be seen the Sanctuary. Booths and shelters of merchants and Bedouin can be seen in the foreground.

No. 3. Pilgrims bathing in the Masīlah or river. Pilgrims from the upper Wādī Ḥaḍramawt approach from the right, entering the river there, and proceeding through it, past the bushes into the town.

No. 4. The North face of the Nāḳah, and the little open court in front of it, situated on the lower platform, at the top of the first stairway.

No. 5. An enlarged photograph showing the tombs, the upright stones of which have fragments of inscriptions in Kufic Arabic. The long tomb extends up-hill to the right of the picture.

No. 6. The Northern side of Hūd's tomb showing the arches supporting the series of small domes, subsiduary to the main cupola in the centre.

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No. 7. The cleft in the rock at the Northern end of Hūd's tomb, into which the pilgrims try to squeeze themselves. The inside of the dome shows the speckling of small pellets of cloth thrown there by the pilgrims.

No. 8. The Northern end of Hūd's tomb, seen from the South. The construction of the squinch dome of the tomb shows in the top right corner.

No. 9. The full length of Hūd's tomb extending from the dome on the right hand side, to the left, up-hill. This portion is whitewashed, and it is here that women insert the strings of pebbles.

No. 10. The tomb of Hūd from the rear, with the Nāḳah below, and the town beyond. From this point one would have a good view of the « Dogs » on the cliff-face opposite, but they do not show in this photograph.

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